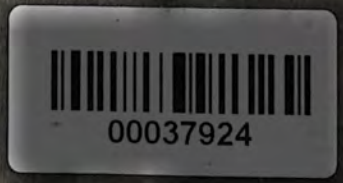
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HISTORY

OF THE

CAPTIVITY OF NAPOLEON.

VOL. I.

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HISTORY

OF THE

CAPTIVITY OF NAPOLEON

AT

ST. HELENA.

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BY

GENERAL COUNT MONTHOLON,

THE EMPEROR'S COMPANION IN EXILE,

AND TESTAMENTARY EXECUTOR.

VOL. I.

LONDON:

HENRY COLBURN, PUBLISHER,

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1846.

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The Senate of the Handwriting of Count Montholon.

Ham 30. octobre 44.

Les instructions de l'Empereur en date du 25 avril 1821. m'impose un dernier devoir publier ses dictées sur le retour de l'île d'Elbe et sur sa guerre d'Egypte.

J'avais cédé au désir que le g.al Bertrand me témoigna de se charger de ce soin et je lui avais remis des copies de ces dictées. Sa mort me rend [illegible] responsable de l'exécution des dispositions de la volonté de l'Empereur

Montholon

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PREFACE.

In presenting the *History of the Captivity of Napoleon at St. Helena*, to the English public, little need be said by the Editor in the way of introduction or preface. As the course of time carries us farther and farther from the date of the events connected with the scenes, principles, and actors of the French Revolution and the changes which were consequent upon it, as the angry passions of partisans subside, and national prejudices disappear, the whole of that deeply interesting drama now begins to be treated with the calmness and seriousness of real history. There can be no stronger evidence of the universal conviction of the great influence of this event, on the politics and destinies of Europe and the world, than the attention which has been devoted to the subject within the last decennium. It has been treated at length by some of the most distinguished writers and his-

torians in France, Germany, and England; and when we mention the names of Thiers, Mignet, and Lacretelle; of Schlosser and Dahlmann; of Alison and Carlyle—besides a multitude of others of all names and nations—we have furnished the best proof of the universally prevailing conviction, that the French Revolution constituted a crisis, which has been followed by the progressive development of a new age, not merely in political science, but in the application of the practical principles of government. The science of legislation was reduced to first principles; the whole nature of government became a subject of general inquiry; the relations between the rulers and ruled were thoroughly investigated; and, notwithstanding occasional obstructions and difficulties, the cause of enlightenment, progress, and freedom, has continued to move onward with a more or less accelerated rapidity. Much remains to be effected, and the course of events leaves no room to doubt that this progress will not be finally arrested till knowledge and virtue gain an indisputable ascendancy, and the rights and privileges of governors and governed be so clearly defined and understood, as to secure a great increase in social order, a freer development of the energies and industry of nations, and an amount of peace, happiness, and prosperity hitherto unparalleled.

The second act in the great drama was the Consulate and the Empire, to the history of which Thiers

has devoted his great powers, and if his, as well as works of an opposite tendency, both in France and in England, do not in themselves constitute an impartial history of the illustrious individual, whose actions, motives, and character form the main subject of their eulogy or condemnation, they will at least furnish those materials from which, in due time, real history will be formed. It is unreasonable to expect from contemporaries absolute impartiality; nor perhaps is any individual capable of such a careful examination and conclusive judgment upon disputed questions, as to secure the general suffrages in his favour. The writer was once remarkably impressed with the observation of a celebrated living historian on a subject of this kind, when accused by an antagonist of the partiality of his views. The reply was this: "I have done my best to understand the subject and come to a sound conclusion; I have given *my* view of the history; nothing hinders you from giving yours; and let us leave the world to judge between us."

No man who ever lived has been more the subject of eulogy and blame than Napoleon; and few events of his life have formed the topic of such angry and bitter disputations as those connected with the captivity at St. Helena. The time has now arrived when the materials for dispassionate judgment are to be submitted to the world, and Count Montholon, the friend, companion and executor of Napoleon, is about to speak on the one hand, and Sir Hudson Lowe, the

representative and agent of the English government, on the other.

"Unexpected light," says *La Presse*, "will be "diffused by the recital of General Montholon. Num- "bers of facts are now, for the first time, made public "in this work; numbers of false statements completely "refuted.

"Sir Hudson Lowe is no longer on the scene; at "this moment his memoirs are in preparation for the "press in London. It behoves France to be careful "that the history of this illustrious, yet odious Cap- "tivity, be not *travestied*. It is fully time that "the truth respecting the Emperor be given to the "world.

"General Montholon writes history; history, seri- "ous and authentic; he brings, in support of his "assertions, documents—proofs. He had a right to "be believed on his mere word; he asks to be judged "only by the evidence he can produce.

"Among other important historical papers con- "tained in the work, is the draft of a constitution "for the French people, written at St. Helena, by the "Emperor himself, for the use of the King of Rome. "The Emperor, on his death-bed, charged General "Montholon to convey this document to his son, and "in defiance of the Austrian government, the mission "was accomplished."

Such is the strain adopted by the French press; but whilst acknowledging the authority of General Count

Montholon, and duly appreciating the importance and interest of his work, we have neither the right nor the inclination to prejudge the defence of Sir Hudson Lowe, and the government which he represented. Each must be allowed to speak for himself, and posterity will examine and judge between them.

General Montholon, who claims to be the expositor of the opinions and thoughts of Napoleon, to whom he was so devotedly attached, and who made him the depository of his posthumous papers, cannot be better exhibited than by allowing him to speak for himself. In a letter dated from the Citadel of Ham, on the 5th of June, 1844, General Montholon writes as follows:

"A soldier of the republic, a brigadier-general at twenty years of age, and minister plenipotentiary in Germany, in the midst of the political intrigues of 1812 and the first months of 1813, I could, like others, have left *memoires* concerning the things which I saw accomplished, the events of which I was cognizant, and the men whom I knew; but the whole is effaced from my mind in presence of a single thing—a single event—and a single man.

"That thing is Waterloo—that event, the fall of the empire—and that man, Napoleon.

"In reality, what could I say to the past or the future, which would convey more than these simple words?

"During six years, I shared the captivity of the

greatest man of modern times, and relieved the agony of his martyrdom, by attentions, which he denominated filial.

"The recollections of these six years, passed in close intimacy with Napoleon, in conversing with him upon the events of his reign, or in writing, from his dictation, the commentaries of this second Cæsar—the memory of forty-two nights passed in watching by his death-bed, upon that political Golgotha of St. Helena—and, finally, the reward granted me by his formally expressed desire that I should be the person who should close his eyes and receive his last sigh, are not only the ruling thought, but continue to be the richest consolation of my declining years.

"During the last years passed at Longwood, the Emperor sent for me every night, at eleven o'clock, from which time I never quitted him till six in the morning, when he entered the bath. In his paternal goodness, he was accustomed to say to me every day, 'Come, my son, go and repose, and come to me again at nine o'clock. We shall have breakfast, and resume the labours of the night.' At nine I returned, and remained with him till one, when he went to bed, and received the grand marshal. Between four and five he sent for me again. I had the honour of dining with him every day, and about nine o'clock I left him to return at eleven.

"Count Las Cases only remained thirteen months at St. Helena, and nevertheless, in the recitals of

these thirteen months, he has found materials enough to fill eight volumes of his *memorial*. Had I followed his example, I could have written a whole library; but such is not my intention. I wish to consign to these pages such details only as may be useful to history. I therefore relinquish the idea of following the regular order of my journal. Days passed in captivity too nearly resemble one another;—I shall consult the records of my diary merely as *memoranda*, and giving free course to my recollections, I shall detail the facts as their importance has classed them in my memory.

"Everything which I state shall be verified by proof. In my case, especially, the fatalist axiom has become a truth—*Destiny is written.*

"In fact, without having sought it, my destiny brought me into contact with the Emperor in the Elysée Bourbon—conducted me, without my knowing it, to the shores of Boulogne, where honour imposed upon me the necessity of not abandoning the nephew of the Emperor, in presence of the dangers by which he was surrounded. Irrevocably bound to the misfortunes of a family, I am now finishing in Ham, the captivity commenced in St. Helena.

"Erased, as one dishonoured, from the army list in 1816, and having had my good name tarnished by the Chamber of Peers in 1820, the half of my life has been spent under the weight of these two sentences of condemnation.

"My contemporaries have already avenged me for the former; and I trust posterity will absolve me from the latter.

"MONTHOLON."

It is only necessary further to add, that great pains have been taken to surmount the difficulties of the French MS., and to give a faithful translation of the letter and spirit of the original.

THE EDITOR.

London, January 6th, 1846.

HISTORY

OF THE

CAPTIVITY OF NAPOLEON

IN ST. HELENA.

CHAPTER I.

THE ELYSÉE BOURBON.

THE Emperor has been made to say, "I have not found any true fidelity except in the old noblesse."

Twice have events brought me near his person, when he had just abdicated the throne.

At Fontainebleau, on the 19th of April, when I hastened to offer to carry him off on his way to the mountains of Tarare, with the troops under my command on the Upper Loire, and to conduct him into the midst of 80,000 men, belonging to the armies of Marshals Augereau, Suchet and Soult. I found no one in those vast corridors, formerly too small for the crowd of courtiers, except the Duke of Bassano, and the aides-de-camp Bussi and Montesquiou. The whole court, all his personal attendants, even Con-

stant, his valet-de-chambre, and Roustan, the Mameluke, had forsaken their unfortunate master, and hastened towards Paris, in hopes of finding places about the court, or in the household of the new master, whom the defection of the senate had just given to France.

At the Elysée, on the 21st of June, 1815, I found no one in attendance, except the Counts Las Cases and Montalembert, whom I had never seen there in the prosperous days of the empire, although their names had been on the list of imperial chamberlains since 1809, and Baron Montaran, an equerry ; the aides-de-camp Drouet, Flahault, Labedoyère, Dijean, Corbineux, were either in the Chamber of Peers, or at the head of troops.

At these periods of terrible recollections, the people, considered as a whole, remained faithful to the ruler of their choice, but among all the other classes of the nation fidelity was the exception.

On the 21st, at half-past six in the morning, the Emperor arrived at the Elysée Bourbon.

The state of Paris made him uneasy. This city was the resort of his most dangerous enemies, of those whose active minds and interested intrigues could do him most mischief. The others—Prussians and English—required a considerable time to accomplish the distance; eight or ten days' march must be spent in coming from Waterloo to Paris, and during these eight or ten days, the Emperor could do much.

It was from Paris, in 1813, that he rushed to the

aid of the shattered remains of the army of Russia, at the head of 300,000 men, with whom he gained the battles of Lützen and Bautzen. Paris was the grand centre of action, from which he could most effectually counteract a foreign invasion, provided Paris was disposed to sustain him. Paris was finally the heart of France, and Bonaparte wished to judge of the spirit of the nation, by placing his hand, as it were, on the pulsations of its heart.

These pulsations were rapid and feverish. The two chambers were convoked. The two assemblies communicated their deliberations to each other. Beyond the pale of their meeting, the people collected in crowds, which were continually augmenting; and those low murmurings began to be heard, which are always the preludes of a political tempest. The Chamber of Deputies was at the same time afraid of being either dissolved by the Emperor or dispersed by the people.

General Lafayette led them to adopt a decision, and caused it to be proclaimed, that every man should be regarded as a traitor to the country, who should make any attempt with a view to dissolve the chamber.

This was the first inroad upon the imperial authority. This decision having been adopted, and the chamber thus protected against Napoleon, it next became necessary to guard itself against the people.

A second resolution was adopted.

Lieutenant-General Count Beker, member of the Chamber of Deputies, and filling the office of Questor,

was nominated commandant of the guard appointed to watch over the safety of the legislative body.

The chamber, reassured by these two measures, continued its deliberations.

During this time, Napoleon's first care, on arriving at the Elysée, had been to convoke there the ministers and great dignitaries of state, in order to ascertain the state of popular feeling, and the amount of defection produced in the chambers by the tidings of the calamity at Waterloo.

Should the Emperor in person present himself to the Chamber of Deputies, even whilst he was covered with the dust of the battle-field, and make an appeal to the patriotism of the representatives of France, or satisfy himself with sending his brothers or the minister to explain, in his name, the evils of the country?

The ministers were summoned for seven o'clock. When they arrived, they found the Emperor's carriage in waiting, and ready to convey him to the Palais Bourbon.

Three of the ministers supported, with all their power, the proposal of a personal communication.

These were: Cambacérès, High Chancellor and Minister of Justice;

General Carnot, Minister of the Interior;

Duke of Bassano, Minister, Secretary of State.

The majority of the council was, however, of a different opinion. In their opinion, the Emperor ought not to expose himself to the storms of a sitting, in which all the passions of the members would be arrayed

against him, and their violence justified by the pretext of the imminence of the danger, and the vast extent of the sacrifices which the circumstances demanded.

The Emperor yielded.

Had Napoleon listened to the advice of his brother Joseph, Fouché would have been conveyed from the council to Vincennes, as a traitor, and the empire, which this man destroyed, might, perhaps, have been saved.

Lucien and Joseph had both been in Paris since the month of April. They expected to have been able to resume over the veterans of the republic that influence which had twice obtained for them the presidency of the legislative councils. But this expectation proved fallacious. In vain did Prince Joseph, in the House of Peers, and Prince Lucien in that of the Deputies, attempt to revive those sympathies which had been extinguished or repressed by recent events. Their political principles had undoubtedly secured them numerous and faithful friends amongst the ranks of the liberals; and they would have combated with success the efforts of that party, which was eager for the fall of Napoleon at any cost, had the Emperor, instead of returning to Paris, remained at the head of his army, and, though conquered, still maintained a threatening attitude. The chamber, which would, perhaps, have yielded to the majesty of the Emperor, became bold in his absence, and whispered the word — *abdication*.

It then passed a decree that a commission should be named, consisting of deputies and peers, who should assist the ministers, and co-operate with them in adopting measures to save the country.

The deliberations of this united council were prolonged far into the night; the question of abdication was discussed, and when Napoleon awoke in the morning, the result was submitted for his immediate acceptance. Inexplicable caprice of fortune!—which only three months before, had followed, as it were, from the Gulf of Juan to Paris, the flight of that eagle, which flew from belfry to belfry to the very towers of Notre Dame, and that, too, in the midst of the acclamations and the shouts of triumph of a whole great people.

On this occasion he was neither in immediate contact with the army, nor with the masses; the electric chain was broken.

June 22nd, early.

The council of ministers was convoked at the Elysée. One would have supposed that the whole of them would, from conviction, have rejected the idea of any chance of safety for France in an abdication which would deprive the country of the resources of Napoleon's genius; all, however, with the exception of Cambacérès, Carnot, and the Duke of Bassano, voted in favour of the necessity of this great sacrifice, and assured him that it would especially facilitate the conclusion of the peace, to which he was the only obstacle.

To make an appeal to the Emperor's devotedness to the French people was to dictate his decision. Fouché knew it well. The Emperor dictated the act of abdication with that rapidity of determination which was characteristic of his peculiar organization in the field of battle. An hour afterwards, France learned from the imperial commissioners sent to the legislative chambers, that Napoleon had just placed his crown in the hands of the representatives of the nation. He said, in a tone of deep conviction, that the experience of his life had taught him, that in times of a national crisis, safety can only be hoped for from the rule of a government, which has all the necessary means of force and terror at command.

Comparing the conduct of Carnot on this occasion with his behaviour as a member of the committee of government, I should say, that now, as in Fructidor, that honourable man was the dupe of royalist intrigues.

ACT OF ABDICATION.

"Frenchmen!—In commencing war for the maintenance of the national independence, I relied on the union of all efforts, of all wills, and on the co-operation of all the national authorities. I had reason to hope for success, and I disregarded all the declarations of the powers against me.

"Circumstances appear to me changed. I offer myself as a sacrifice to the hatred of the enemies of France. May they prove sincere in their declarations, and have really directed them against my power

alone! My political life is terminated, and I proclaim my son, under the title of Napoleon II., Emperor of the French.

"The present ministers will form the council of the provisional government. The interest which I take in my son induces me to invite the chambers to form a regency without delay, by a specific law.

"Let all unite for the public safety, in order to remain an independent nation.

(Signed) "NAPOLEON."

The two chambers received the abdication as a last act of homage offered to his country. This feeling prompted them to send a deputation to thank the great man, to whom they were about no longer to give the name of Emperor, for the sacrifice which he had just made to France.

But this sacrifice was made on condition that the King of Rome should be proclaimed Emperor of the French. This proclamation, however, which seemed naturally to flow from the act of abdication itself, was obstructed by great difficulties, and the abdication being accepted, the combat was then commenced respecting the question of succession, as if this succession were not a necessary consequence of the previous event.

The chamber was composed of four very distinct parties; Bonapartists, Royalists, Orleanists, and Republicans.

The Bonapartists proved successful, and after the delivery of several speeches, among which those of Beranger, Manuel, and Boulay de la Meurthe, are most worthy of notice, *Napoleon the Second* was proclaimed Emperor of the French.

Other titles, such as those of King of Italy, Protector of the Germanic Confederation, &c., had disappeared, but that which remained would alone have been sufficient to console the young King of Rome for the loss of the rest, had this title been maintained.

This proclamation of the King of Rome as Emperor of the French was, however, a delusion, created by the treachery of Fouché; the confidence of the people was a misfortune, for had they contemplated Louis XVIII., brought back to Paris by the ambassadors of the Chamber of Deputies, it would have led to a dreadful reaction, and made the Palais Bourbon a scene of blood, and the act of abdication would have been torn to pieces in the struggle. Some believed—others pretended to believe—and in spite of a vigorous resistance on the part of a few peers, the Duke of Otranto, General Count Grenier, General Carnot, the Duke of Vicenza, and Baron Quinette, were appointed as a provisional government, and invested with supreme power during the interregnum: the word "regency," as it appears, had been already traitorously erased.

Cambacérès, the high chancellor, and the Duke of Bassano, refused to retain their portfolios as minister of justice and secretary of state, and their places were

immediately filled up by the appointment of Boulay de la Meurthe and Berthier, who were members of the council of state.

All the other ministers continued to discharge the functions of their several offices till the re-entry of Louis XVIII. into Paris.

The committee of government was presided over by the Duke of Otranto, and all its decrees were issued in the name of the French people.

At the same time that the provisional government was constituted, commissioners chosen from the members of the two chambers were accredited to the foreign sovereigns, to solicit the recognition of Napoleon the Second as Emperor of the French.

The ex-Emperor declared, that if his son was recognised as his successor, his political life would come to an end with the last act of the drama, and that he would retire as a private individual to the United States of America.

This overture, as may be well supposed, was received with transport; and the greatest eagerness was manifested to get rid of a giant insufficiently chained by his defeat, every one of whose movements still made the whole of Europe tremble.

I leave to avenging history, whose sole mission it is, the task of enumerating the intrigues and the defections of those days so full of disgrace to the French chambers. I am only anxious to remember and record the generous efforts of Drouet, Labedoyère, and Regnault de St. Jean d'Angely, to recal to the

minds of the peers and deputies the solemnity of their oaths, and shall confine myself to stating a fact known to few, that the Emperor submitted to the discussion of a privy council, the question, whether the hesitation of the chambers to proclaim Napoleon the Second, and the treachery and falsehood which sent ambassadors to the head-quarters of the allies,—whether, in short, the loudly expressed feelings of devoted attachment to his person did not make it his duty to resume the care of saving his country from the yoke of foreigners, or from a counter-revolution, and to place himself at the head of the army, denouncing to the people the treachery of some, and appealing to their indignation to conquer the common enemy.

It was in this council that Prince Lucien revealed his ambition.

After having fully explained the relations which for fifteen years he had continued to maintain with the republicans, his recent communications with them, their numbers, their hopes, and his profound conviction that the national crisis would be terrible and irresistible if the Emperor would lay down the crown, and suffer him (Lucien Bonaparte) to invest himself with a dictatorial power, by the instrumentality of the people of the Faubourgs,—he even ventured to push the illusions of this constant hope, which he brought to light on this occasion, so far as to say to the Emperor—

"France has no longer any faith in the magic of

the empire; it is eager for liberty even with its abuses, and prefers the charter to all the greatness of your reign. With me she will make the republic, because she will believe in it. I will confer upon you the chief command of the army; and by the assistance of your sword, I will save the revolution."

The Emperor listened to these strange words without betraying his impressions by the slightest indications. It was the same Lucien who five years before pretended not to covet power, who now, as a future dictator, offered to his brother the command of the troops of his republic. He merely turned to Carnot, and requested him to reply in his stead.

"I accept," said Carnot, "the duty, which your majesty imposes upon me, of stating my views respecting the singular proposition which we have just heard. There is no man who is better entitled than myself to call himself the representative of the true republicans. I have had great experience of them, and I declare that there is none of them who would wish to exchange the dictatorship of your genius for that of the President of the Council of the Five Hundred.

"The chambers are acting under the influence of an unexampled disaster; they are blinded by the cannon of Waterloo, and betray their duty without knowing it. You alone can save us from the knout of the allies. Trust to the people; the abuses of its power will be only a just vengeance. Blücher and Wellington will pause at its sight, as the army of the Duke of Brunswick was stopped on the plains of

Champagne, when the people of Paris rose, *en masse;* and the revolution will be saved. If on the contrary, you abdicate, Louis XVIII. will re-enter Paris, and the counter-revolution will be accomplished."

A few moments after the dissolution of this second council, Prince Jerome entered the waiting-room, having just arrived from the army, and begged me to inform the Emperor of his presence. Although a young soldier, he had just performed more than could have been expected of an old general. Forty thousand men had been rallied by him under the walls of Laon; the mention of this is no more than justice to the youngest brother of the Emperor, whose name, erased from the list of sovereigns, deserves, at least as a general, to be inscribed upon the *Arc de Triomphe*, as a testimony to his noble conduct in those days of misfortune, when men of the highest courage were filled with apprehension, and the most powerful minds were constrained to yield to the force of circumstances. At Waterloo, he forgot his title of King, in order to fight under the orders of a French general, and his division covered itself with glory at the attack on Hougoumont. During the retreat, which is still more difficult, he proved himself to be greater than even in the field of battle; for, by dint of importunity, activity and zeal, he arrested the course of the fugitives, rallied them under the walls of Laon, and restored them to the command of Marshal Soult. Exhausted with fatigue, and still bloody from the wounds which he had received, he came to apprise the Emperor of the

re-organization of the 1st, 2nd, and 6th division of the army, which, when united to the 42,000 men under Marshal Grouchy, would amount to more than 80,000, and compose an army with which he might commence, in order to take a bloody revenge on the Duke of Wellington.

The Emperor had no banker; he had never conceived the idea of being condemned by his destiny to create resources abroad, as a protection against the ingratitude of France. In 1814, he left 400,000,000 francs in the hands of the Bourbons, and, trusting to the law of treaties, he set out for the Island of Elba, taking with him 15,000 napoleons, the remains of the army-chest of the campaign. Those four hundred millions were personal property; he had acquired them by diplomatic treaties, and from the savings of the civil list of Italy and France. They constituted his extraordinary domain and private resources.

The former of these he used, in order to pay what he called his debt towards the army, and upon it he founded dotations. One hundred and seventy-five millions of the extraordinary domain were employed in paying the expenses of 1813 and 1814. Two hundred and five millions still remained on the 11th of April, when the Emperor signed the abdication of Fontainebleau—viz., one hundred and seventy-five millions in gold in the vaults of the Tuileries, and thirty millions in the treasury of the crown at Orleans.

Of those thirty millions, nearly eight became the spoil of the allied generals, or the price of treason.

The imperial civil list amounted to ten millions.

The capital which had been accumulated at the 1st of January, 1814, exceeded 100,000,000.

The Emperor's will proved that his opinions with respect to the disposition of his property had undergone no change, for he says—"I bequeath my private domain, one-half to the officers and soldiers who fought for the glory and independence of the nation, from 1792 till 1815, the allotment to be made, *pro rata*, according to rank and service; and one-half to the towns and districts of Alsace, Franche Comté, Burgundy, and the Isle of France, as a compensation for the losses they had suffered from foreign invasion."

His brother, King Louis, had set him an example of these noble sentiments. He had laid down the crown of Holland, in order not to be obliged to sacrifice that which he believed to be the interests of the country, to the will of the Emperor. He had preferred the retired life of a private citizen, without the bounds of the empire, to the royal honours which would have surrounded him at Paris; but the moment the allies set foot on the shores of France, he claimed the honour of being a French citizen, and hastened to demand permission from his brother to fight in the foremost ranks.

I arrived at the Elysée a few hours after the Emperor. The first person whom I met was the Duke of Vicenza, coming out of the cabinet; the agitation of his

features gave evidence of the state of his mind, and I had need of the assurance of our former intimacy to enable me to dare to stop him.

"A word! I entreat! what is going on?"

"All is lost," answered he; "you arrive to-day, as you did at Fontainebleau, only to see the Emperor resign his crown. An impenetrable mystery protects the Emperor's enemies. The leaders of the chambers desire his abdication; they will have it, and in a week Louis XVIII. will be in Paris. On the 19th, at night, a short note in pencil was left with my porter, announcing the destruction of the army; the same notice was given to Carnot. The last telegraphic dispatch had brought news of victory. Both of us at the same moment hastened to the Duke of Otranto; he assured us, with all his cadaverous coldness, that he knew nothing—he knew all, however, I am well assured. Events succeeded each other with the rapidity of lightning; there is no longer any possible illusion—all is lost, and the Bourbons will be here in a week."

For forty-eight hours I had not quitted the Elysée Palace, night or day. The Emperor had remarked it; so much so, that he said to me, as I announced Prince Jerome, "How is it that I see no one but you here?" And it is, perhaps, to this circumstance that I am indebted for his determination to take me with him to St. Helena. After Prince Jerome had taken his leave, the Emperor was walking under the great trees in front of his apartment, seemingly deeply absorbed in

meditation, when, stopping suddenly before the glass-door of the antechamber, he tapped gently on the window, and made a sign to me to join him.

"Where is Sémonville? What does he say of all this?"

"I know not, Sire. 'Tis now three months since he quitted Paris. He is at his estate near Coutances."

"But your mother is at Paris; he writes to her; what does she say?"

"I have not seen her since your Majesty's arrival."

Without saying anything more, he walked several times up and down the path; I was doubtful whether I ought not to retire, and slackened my pace in order to allow him to pass on. He turned back—

"Bertrand hesitates to accompany me; Drouet refuses; you will accompany me, will you not?"

"Yes, Sire," answered I, without reflecting.

An instantaneous emotion, produced by his voice and his looks, ruled my whole being.

At this moment, we heard a great tumult under the terrace of the Elysée-Bourbon. It arose from two regiments of *tirailleurs* of the guard, which were formed of volunteers from among the workmen of the Faubourg St. Antoine; they were defiling in disorder in front of the garden, at the head of an innumerable column of people, calling loudly for the Emperor to place himself at their head, and lead them against the enemy; requesting him to suffer them to execute justice on the traitors, who spoke of sending commissioners to the head-quarters of the enemy, in order to sell France again, as they had done in 1814.

Those regiments composed a part of the force which, on the previous evening, had been placed under my command. The Emperor commanded me to order them to return to their post, and presenting himself to the people, addressed them, in order to allay the effervescence.

One of the orators of the Faubourg addressed him in return, and reminded him of the 18th of Brumaire.

The Emperor interrupted him, raised his voice, and said—"You remind me of the 18th of Brumaire, but you forget that the circumstances are very different. On the 18th of Brumaire the nation was unanimous in its desire for a change; nothing but a very feeble effort was necessary to accomplish the desired object. At present, torrents of French blood must be shed, a single drop of which shall never be shed by me in defending a cause which is wholly personal."

The slightest signal of approbation, instead of this address, and the heads of the deputies who had eagerly accepted the abdication, would have fallen as a bloody evidence of the love of the people for the sovereign whom they had chosen.

The two regiments yielded obedience to the order, which I was sent to convey; but, on returning from the discharge of this commission, I could not refrain from expressing to the Emperor the regret which I felt at his having arrested the hands of the people, which alone were strong enough to have defended Paris from the defilement of the enemy; and, suffering myself to be led away by the strength of my convic-

tions and my devotedness to his cause, I ventured to call his attention to the difference which, in opposition to his view, existed between the circumstances of the 18th of Brumaire and those in which we were then placed. At the former period, there was need of an army to overturn an established government—at present, the object was to save a legitimate government and France; and nothing further was necessary than to allow the people free scope, and they would execute justice upon the traitors.

Napoleon, who had suffered me to proceed so far, interrupted me at this point, by saying, "To put into action the brute force of the masses, would, without doubt, save Paris, and ensure me the crown, without having recourse to the horrors of a civil war; but this would be also to risk the shedding of rivers of French blood. What is the compressive force which would be sufficiently strong to regulate the outburst of so much passion, hatred, and vengeance? No," said he, "I can never forget one thing; that I have been brought from Cannes to Paris in the midst of cries for blood! *Down with the priests—down with the nobles!* I would rather have the regrets of France, than possess its crown."

I proceeded no further; respect forbade me to say more. Fouché, and the royalist committee, although aiming at very different objects, for a moment united in their efforts to give currency to the conviction that Napoleon's abdication in favour of his son would be the anchor of safety against the entry of the allies into

Paris, and the return of Louis XVIII. The leading men of the two chambers, and every one in Paris who had or could have any influence whatever upon legislative assemblies or the workshops, had received confidential communications respecting the dispositions of Austria, and the negotiations, which, as it was said, Fouché, without the knowledge of the Emperor, had been carrying on with the cabinets of Vienna and Petersburg. The abdication of the Emperor, as they assured those whom they addressed, would save the empire and the French revolution, of which it was the fruits; and the King of Rome being proclaimed, the allied armies would stop as by enchantment.

All these pretended negotiations of the Duke of Otranto were nothing more than the mission of M. Vernier to Prince Metternich, of which the Duke of Vicenza had informed the Emperor, in the beginning of April. At that period a secret agent of Prince Metternich was circumvented in Paris by the secret police of the Tuileries. He was led to believe that he was in communication with an intermediate person, who possessed the entire confidence of Fouché; he revealed all he knew, delivered the letter of which he was the bearer, and set out again on his return, bearing a counterfeit autograph reply from the Duke of Otranto, in which Basle was proposed as the place of rendezvous and negotiation, in order, as it was said, to be beyond the reach of the Emperor's secret police.

By this means, the Emperor would have been able personally to give effect to the overture of the Aus-

trian minister, if it was sincere, and to defeat the intrigue, if, as he feared, Metternich was influenced by a hostile purpose.

This, perhaps, is the proper place to say, that whilst Napoleon was in exile in Elba, Austria entered into correspondence on the eventuality of a revolution in France, and authorized General Köller, who twice went secretly to Porto-Ferrajo, to sign a draft of agreement with General Bertrand, in order to guard against the prejudices which might have been created against her by her conduct in 1814, when the Emperor, at Fontainebleau, offered to abdicate in favour of the King of Rome, and she refused the offer. Austria acted on that occasion according to her usual policy; she played a double game.

Let us, however, here record a fact; at the moment in which the Emperor, in compliance with the wishes expressed by his ministers, and the counsel given by men whom he had been accustomed to regard as old friends, was about to sign his second abdication, a man whom he had long considered his enemy, Carnot, urged him even to importunity, to listen to the voice of the people, and not, by his abdication, to deliver up revolutionary France to the vengeance of the emigration. He said, that his former experience had taught him, that in the time of a national crisis there is no hope for safety but by the aid of a strong and terrible dictatorship.

In the midst of this tumult of regrets and hopes, two inexplicable thefts occupied the attention of the

Elysée Bourbon for a moment. A case containing some valuable snuff-boxes, adorned with portraits set in diamonds, which had just been sent by the high-chamberlain, was placed by General Bertrand on the chimney-piece of his chamber. During a few moments, in which he approached the window with the messenger of M.de Montesquiou, only a single person entered the room—but when General Bertrand recollected the case, and went to look for it, it had disappeared.

This, however, is nothing in comparison with what happened to the Emperor himself. One of his ministers had brought some millions of negotiable paper, canal shares, and other securities ; the Emperor having counted them, placed them, in their cover, under one of the cushions of his sofa. The minister was followed by a man whom the Emperor had been accustomed to receive in his cabinet ever since the campaign in Italy; his rank, and the high functions which he discharged, placed him beyond the reach of accusation. No other person entered the cabinet between that and the time in which the Emperor proceeded to take up his papers in order to place them in safety in his bureau. He immediately perceived that they had been touched, and were incomplete. Fifteen hundred thousand francs had been abstracted. Who had taken them? The mystery was as great as in the case of the diamonds.

On the 23rd instant, the Emperor, quite taken up with these thefts, which deprived him of a part of his resources, called to mind that Count Peregaux, one of

his chamberlains, was a partner in the house of Lafitte. He sent for him, and commissioned him to ask the head of the house, whether he could, in his character of banker, open an account with him of from four to five millions, which sum he would transfer to him in gold, or in good securities. Count Peregaux did not hesitate a moment to accept the offer in the name of the house—and that very evening the capital was received by Monsieur Lafitte, who proceeded immediately to the Elysée Bourbon. The interview was curious. The Emperor expected to meet in Monsieur Lafitte only the man of money, and the fortunate speculator; but after the first exchange of words, he recognised in him a man of high intelligence, and forgetting the reason of his visit, discussed the great political questions which occupied his thoughts, and forced M. Lafitte to perceive all the dangers to which the conduct of the Chamber of Deputies exposed the advantages gained by thirty millions of Frenchmen over some millions of privileged individuals whom the armies of Blücher and of Wellington were reconducting to Paris. Then, returning to Blücher, he questioned M. Lafitte on the degree of influence which he had exercised in the decision of Marshal Marmont —it was, in fact, M. Lafitte, who, by touching in the heart of Marmont all the chords of the patriot of 1789, and alarming him by the idea of the sack of Paris, had made him forget his allegiance to the Emperor, and all the devotion which he owed him, from the day in which, as sub-officer of artillery, he had

found a protector, a friend, a father, in Captain Bonaparte. The minds both of the Emperor and of M. Lafitte were so entirely occupied with these subjects, that the latter took his leave, without thinking of taking the Emperor's orders, or of giving him any receipt; and it was not till he reached home, and found himself with his partners, that he became aware of his absence of mind, and hastened to repair it.

This visit recalled to my mind the one which was made a short time afterwards by M. Lafitte to Louis XVIII. Baron Louis, the minister of finance, thinking, no doubt, by the exaggeration of his hatred, to redeem the favours and benefits which he had received from the Emperor, summoned M. Lafitte to declare on his oath, whether or not he had in his hands any funds belonging to Napoleon.

M. Lafitte, justly alarmed, hastened to the Tuileries, and obtained from the Duke of Blancar a permission to have an audience of the King.

"Sire," said he, "on the 19th of March, a few hours before the entry of Napoleon into Paris, I received from your Majesty a deposit of 7,000,000 of francs. By the indiscretion of his courtiers, Napoleon was informed of this fact; but he took care himself to allay my fears, by advising me to transfer this money to England, and by this means to prove myself worthy of the confidence with which the King had honoured me."

Louis XVIII. understood what M. Lafitte expected of him, and interrupted him.

"I knew all that, sir," said he; "the Abbé Louis has been in the wrong—make yourself easy, and do with regard to the money which was delivered to you at the Elysée what you did with regard to mine—that is to say, what you promised to do on receiving it."

On the 24th, the populace of Paris assumed such a menacing attitude towards the leaders of the Chamber of Deputies, and the crowd so encumbered all the approaches to the Elysée, making the air resound with cries of "*Vive l'Empereur*," and of menace to the traitors, that the provisional government did everything in their power in order to determine the Emperor to quit Paris, and to retire to Malmaison, there to wait till all arrangements should be made for his embarkation and departure for the United States. Fouché knew that he could only attain his end by bad faith and apparent devotion; and I heard him cry out, at the moment when the tumult outside resounded in the hall—"Do you hear the people of Paris?—Gentlemen, they are the same as they were in 1793—sublime in their patriotism." Casting a glance at Count Las Cases and the Duke of Vicenza, he said,—

"Carnot and I are not suspected by this sublime people—we who signed our oaths to them with the blood of Louis XVI."

Eight days after having pronounced these words, the ex-conventionalist opened the gates of Paris to Louis XVIII.

On the 25th, towards nightfall, the Emperor, after having officially asked of the provisional government two frigates to take him to America, quitted the Elysée in the carriage of Count Las Cases, and went to sleep at Malmaison.

For the purpose of accomplishing this excursion, he had taken care to have the uniform of the chasseurs of his guard exchanged for a brown coat and round hat—the people would not, indeed, have allowed him to pass, had he set out in one of his own carriages, or had they recognised him in that of another.

It was during this short drive that Count Las Cases asked, and obtained permission, to accompany the Emperor to America.

Thus, on the 28th of June, 1815, did the Emperor Napoleon, disguised and almost a fugitive, quit that capital which he was doomed never again to see, and to which his remains alone returned, on the 15th of December, 1840.

Twenty-six years sufficed to prepare the apotheosis, and to make a god of the hero.

Who among us, who at that time devoted ourselves to his proscribed exiled fortunes, could have thought that we should live to see the same men who pushed his carriage out of the Elysée accompany his triumphal bier to the Invalides?

CHAPTER II.

LA MALMAISON.

The abdication being signed, all the officers of the imperial household resigned their places, with the exception of those among us whose devotion attached them to the misfortunes of the Emperor. A decree, or rather a decision, determined as follows the functions which each of us would have to fulfil.

Count Bertrand, grand marshal:

Generals Montholon, Savary, Gourgaud, and L'Allemand,—aides-de-camp:

Two officers of the ordnance—Major Resigny and Captain Planat. The latter was attached to the topographic cabinet.

Several Poles of the imperial guard obtained the honour of accompanying the Emperor as officers of his staff: I regret not being able to find out their names; they were not permitted to embark for St. Helena.

Count Las Cases, chamberlain.

Mons. Emmanuel Las Cases, page.

Mons. Meugaux, surgeon.

Mons. Marchand, head valet-de-chambre; Messrs. St. Denis and Noverrat, valets-de-chambre; Cypriani, major-domo; Pierron, larderer. I have forgotten the name of the master-cook, because, at Rochefort, he refused to embark, and was replaced by Lesage, cook to King Joseph.

On the 26th, I was on service at Malmaison, when General Beker presented himself there, early in the day, sent by the government to take the command of the guard, and to watch, so said his orders, over the person of the Emperor.

The captivity of Napoleon dates from this day, for after it he ceased to enjoy liberty of action.

General Beker had received, on the 25th of June, about two o'clock in the afternoon, and while he was sitting at the legislative palace, the following letter, brought by an aide-de-camp in the service of the Prince d'Eckmuhl.

THE MINISTER OF WAR TO GENERAL BEKER.

"Paris, 25th June, 1815.

"GENERAL—I have the honour to announce to you, that you have been appointed to the command of the Emperor's guard, stationed at Ruel, by a decree of the Commission of Government, dated the 25th of this month.

"I have informed Lieutenant-General Count Drouoy,

chief of the imperial guard, and Lieutenant-General Baron Derioy, chief-staff officer, of your nomination.

"I am, &c. &c.

"for the Minister of War, and by his orders,

"BARON MARCHAUX,

"Councillor of State and Secretary General."

The aide-de-camp, at the same time, requested General Beker to go immediately to the minister, to receive his instructions.

The General obeyed, and having reached the minister's cabinet, expressed to him his astonishment at being designed for a post which seemed to him incompatible with his duties in the Chamber of Representatives.

"I can make no change," said the Prince, "in the arrangements adopted by the government. It calculates on your patriotism and your devotion at this painful conjuncture, in which the great object is to protect the life of Napoleon. Here is the order which I have been commissioned to transmit to you. You will learn from its contents the high opinion which the government entertains of your character, and will see what the Emperor will say."

The order was as follows:—

"Paris, June 25, 1815, 4 P.M.

"GENERAL,—I have the honour to inform you that the government has appointed you to go and take the command of the Emperor's guard at Malmaison.

"The honour of France demands a careful watch over the safety of his person, and a strict observance of the respect which is due to him. The interest of the country imperatively requires that the malcontents should be prevented from availing themselves of his name in order to excite disturbances.

"Your well-known character, General, furnishes a guarantee, both to the government and the nation, that you will accomplish this double object.

"Accept, &c.

"THE PRINCE OF ECKMUHL,

"Marshal and Minister of War."

General Beker had no sooner arrived at Malmaison, than he was introduced to the Emperor. His Majesty was in his cabinet, and eagerly inquired of the General the reason of his presence. Beker made his obeisance, and presented him with the letter from the Minister of War.

"Sire," said he, "here is a letter which charges me, in the name of the provisional government, to take the command of your Majesty's guard, and which commands me to watch over your Majesty's safety. I trust your Majesty has every confidence in the fidelity with which I shall discharge this duty."

"Yes," replied the Emperor, "but it seems to me, I ought to have been officially informed of an act, which I consider as a measure of *surveillance* to which it was unnecessary to subject me."

"Sire," replied the General, "I repeat to your

Majesty, that it was with the sole view of protecting your life, and watching over your safety, that I have accepted this mission. Should your Majesty have any further views, I entreat you to inform me of them. I am an old soldier, and have hitherto always obeyed your voice. They may write to me what they will, but I have accepted the command of the Emperor's guard, merely to watch over his safety."

In saying these words, the General was unable to subdue his emotion; the look—the presence—of the exalted son of misfortune filled him with sorrow, and involuntary tears gushed into his eyes.

The Emperor perceived it, and said to him, with a smile at once affable and sad—"Be assured, General, I am glad to see you about my person; had I been permitted to select an officer, I would have fixed upon you, because I have long known your noble character."

Napoleon then invited General Beker to follow him into the park. They had scarcely passed beyond the vestibule, when he said—"Well! what is being done and said in Paris?"

"Sire," replied the General, "parties entertain very different views with respect to your Majesty's abdication, and the proclamation which constitutes your son heir to the crown. A portion of the higher classes of society is inclined to receive the foreigners a second time, but the remnant of the army continues to be faithful, and is collected under the walls of the capital. A great part of the citizens, and the whole

of the people of Paris, seem determined to defend themselves, and if a powerful hand could rally all these elements and make a last effort, there is, perhaps, no reason to despair."

Thus, the very person whom the government had sent to treat the Emperor as a prisoner, advised him to resume the sword of Marengo and Austerlitz, and to march boldly against the enemy.

At Paris, the whole night of the 25th and 26th had been passed in movement, in going and coming, and in conjectures on the resolution which the Emperor would adopt, or prophecies concerning those which events would suggest to him. The leaders could not believe this retreat without a struggle—this defeat without a combat—possible. Their success appeared to them like a dream; they were frightened at the calm of Malmaison. We ourselves, witnesses of what, in our devotedness, we dared to call the apathy of the Emperor—hoped for the waking of the lion. Every piece of intelligence which arrived from the Loire and the army re-kindled our hopes. The Emperor expressed but one wish—that for the arrival of the passports for which he was waiting, in order to commence his journey.

However, from the 22nd of June, that is, from the very moment in which he was placed at the head of the commission, the Duke of Otranto issued orders that nothing should be allowed to go out of the Tuileries, nor any of the furniture belonging to the crown, without an order signed by himself.

It was late in the night between the 26th and 27th of June, when the government, at length yielding to the urgent importunities of the grand marshal, caused the following letter to be written to him by Berlier, councillor of state:—

"COUNT,—I have the honour to transmit to you an order, which may be useful to you in the voyage you are about to undertake.

"Accept of the high consideration of your very devoted, "BERLIER."

On the 27th, at noon, the grand marshal caused the note to be delivered to the Emperor, accompanied by the letter by which it had been preceded and the decree which follows:—

"During the night this letter and the subjoined decree have been put into my hands. I have been this morning to the Tuileries, to speak with the commission and to ask for some explanations, and especially to know if the frigates are to sail under a safe-conduct.

"The commission was assembled: the ministers of state, the committees of the two chambers, and marshals —among others, Marshal Masséna—were there. I found it impossible to obtain an audience either of the Duke of Otranto or the Duke of Vicenza. After having waited for two hours, M. Berlier told me it was impossible for the Duke of Vicenza to come out;

and I learned that they had received news from the commissioners sent to the allies, which was said to be favourable, but I could not learn the contents.

"M. Berlier called my attention to Article 6, and informed me that this order had been considered necessary, because, in negotiating with the allied powers respecting the fate of the Emperor, they could not allow him to depart unless the answer was favourable. If the answer were favourable, the frigates would be allowed to sail; but even in this case, it would have the advantage of allowing the Emperor immediately to proceed to Rochefort.

"As soon as I can see the commission I shall return, and have written to the Duke of Vicenza to give me information. "BERTRAND.

"Wednesday, June 27th."

EXTRACT FROM THE MINUTES OF THE SECRETARY OF STATE.

"Paris, June 26th, 1815.

"The commission of government decrees as follows:

"Art. 1.—The minister of marine will issue the necessary instructions for two armed frigates to be prepared at the port of Rochefort, to convey Napoleon Bonaparte to the United States.

"Art. 2.—He shall be furnished, if he desire it, with a sufficient escort to the point of embarkation, which shall be under the orders of General Beker, who is commissioned to watch over his safety.

"Art. 3.—The director-general of the post will give the necessary orders, on his part, to provide relays of horses.

"Art. 4.—The minister of marine will issue the necessary orders for the immediate return of the frigates after the disembarkation.

"Art. 5.—The frigates shall not leave the roads of Rochefort till the safe-conduct which has been asked shall have arrived.

"Art. 6.—The ministers of marine, war, and finance, are respectively charged with the due execution of the present decree.

(Signed) "THE DUKE OF OTRANTO, COUNT GRENIER, COUNT CARNOT, BARON QUINETTE, and CAULINCOURT DUKE OF VICENZA.

A true copy. (Signed) "BERLIER,

"Assistant Secretary to the Minister Secretary of State."

On the same night the Duke of Otranto sent a VERBAL notice to General Bertrand, that the heads of the household department were authorized, by virtue of a decision of the government, to deliver to him the following articles, on his receipt for the same:—

1. A service of plate, consisting of twelve covers.
2. A service of porcelain, called *Les quartiers généraux*.
3. Six dozen damask table napkins.
4. Six dozen linen table napkins.

5. Twelve pair of sheets of first quality.
6. Ditto, ordinary quality.
7. Six dozen chamber towels.
8. Two travelling carriages.
9. Three saddles and bridles for a general officer.
10. Three ditto, ditto, for outriders.
11. Four hundred volumes, to be selected from the library of Chambouillet.
12. Capitaine's map of France, and that of the war-archives.
13. Balbi's map of Italy.
14. Chauffary's map of Germany.
15. The map of Ferrari.
16. Ditto of Egypt.
17. Ditto of the United States.
18. Ditto of Russia, in four sheets.
19. 100,000 francs for the general expense of baggage.

Such was the outfit for his exile, which was allotted to the Emperor Napoleon by a man whom the Emperor Napoleon had created a duke, and to whom he had given an income of two hundred thousand francs.

On the morning of the 27th of June, the minister of war wrote to General Beker as follows:

"Paris, June 27th, 1815.

"GENERAL,—I have the honour to transmit to you the subjoined decree, which the commission of government desire you to notify to the Emperor Napoleon, at the same time informing his Majesty that the cir-

cumstances are become imperative—and that it is necessary for him immediately to decide on setting out for the Isle of Aix.

"This decree has been passed as much for the safety of his person as for the interest of the state, which ought always to be dear to him.

"Should the Emperor not adopt the above-mentioned resolution, on your notification of this decree, it will then be your duty to *exercise the strictest* SURVEILLANCE, *both with a view of preventing his Majesty from leaving Malmaison*, and of guarding against any attempt upon his life: you will station guards on all the approaches to Malmaison. I have written to the chief inspector-general of the *gendarmerie* and to the commandant of Paris, to place such of the *gendarmerie* and troops as you may require at your disposal.

"I repeat to you, General, that this decree has been adopted solely for the good of the state and the personal safety of the Emperor. Its prompt execution is indispensable, as the future fate of his Majesty and his family depends upon it.

"It is unnecessary to say to you, General, that all your measures should be taken with the greatest possible secrecy.

(Signed) "PRINCE OF ECKMUHL,
"Marshal and Minister of War."

During the evening, General Beker received a second letter:

"Paris, June 27th, 1815, 5 P.M.

"GENERAL,—I have the honour herewith to send you a copy of the letter which the commission of government has written to the minister of marine, respecting the Emperor Napoleon.

"The perusal of this letter, General, will show you that it is of the highest importance to the well-being of the state, and to the personal safety of his Majesty, that you should not separate from him as long as he remains in the roads of the Isle of Aix, which will be till the arrival of a passport.

"Accept, M. General, the assurance of my high consideration. "THE PRINCE OF ECKMUHL."

THE PRESIDENT OF THE COMMISSION OF GOVERNMENT TO THE MINISTER OF MARINE.

"Paris, June 27th, 1815.

"DUKE,—The commission begs to remind you of the instructions transmitted to you an hour ago, and that the decree must be executed as it was adopted by the committee yesterday, namely, that Napoleon Bonaparte shall remain in the roads of the Isle of Aix till the arrival of passports.

"It is of importance to the well-being of the state, which should not be indifferent to him, that he should remain till his fate and that of his family have been definitively regulated. Every means will be employed in order to terminate this negotiation in a manner satisfactory to the Emperor.

"French honour is interested in such an issue, but

in the meantime every precaution should be taken for the personal safety of Napoleon, and he must not be allowed to leave the place appointed for his present sojourn.

(Signed) "THE DUKE OF OTRANTO.
"THE PRINCE OF ECKMUHL."

On its part the commission of government wrote as follows:

TO GENERAL BEKER.

"Paris, June 28th, 1815.

"The commission herewith transmits you a copy of the new instructions given to the minister of marine. As far as you are concerned, it will be your duty entirely to conform to these new arrangements, and to the preceding instructions which you have received from the minister of war respecting the departure and personal security of *Napoleon*.

"THE DUKE OF OTRANTO, CARNOT,
CAULINCOURT DUKE OF VICENZA,
COUNT GRENIER, QUINETTE."

We direct especial attention to the name of Caulincourt, which the Emperor would have been extremely astonished to see subscribed to a letter, in which he was called *Napoleon*, if anything could have astonished the former exile of Elba and the future exile of St. Helena.

This was followed by a copy of the instructions given by the commission to the minister of marine.

TO THE DUKE DECRÉS.

"Paris, June 28th, 1815.

"Long delays having taken place since the time in which the request of a safe-conduct for *Napoleon* was made, and the present circumstances being calculated to excite some fears for his personal safety, we have determined to consider Article 5 of our decree of the 26th as not passed.

"In consequence of this the frigates shall be placed at the disposal of *Napoleon:* no obstacle to his embarkation any longer exists; the interest of the state and his own imperatively require his departure as soon as you shall have notified to him your determination. Count Merlin is appointed to join you on this mission. "CARNOT."

Notwithstanding all these letters, the Emperor obstinately persevered in remaining at Malmaison, and we began to entertain good hopes of the result of this mute resistance to the orders of the provisional government. The government itself became alarmed, and on the 27th General Beker received orders to return to Paris.

General Beker obeyed, presented himself at the Tuileries, and was immediately introduced into the cabinet of Count Berlier.

The commission gave him directions to set out the same evening *incognito* with the Emperor, and to accompany him to Rochefort.

At the same time as this order was notified to him,

Count Berlier put into his hands a passport, by virtue of which the commission authorized General Beker to proceed to that city, attended by his secretary and servant—the secretary was to be the Emperor.

General Beker wished to make some observations. "Sir," said Count Berlier, "the government has the safety of Napoleon too much at heart not to have considered all the means calculated to facilitate his departure, and it has concluded that during this journey a strict *incognito*, under your name and your protection, would be the best means of reaching his destination without danger."

We reproduce here this precious document, drawn up entirely by the hand of the minister of state, and to the bottom of which he attached his seal in red wax.

"The commission of government hereby commands all officers, civil and military, to give free passage to Lieutenant-General Count Beker, member of the Chamber of Deputies, travelling to Rochefort, accompanied by his secretary and one servant: they are expressly enjoined not to cause or suffer to be caused any delay, and to throw no obstacles in the way of his journey, but on the contrary to render him aid and assistance in case of necessity. "BERLIER."

"Given at Paris, June 26th, 1815."

The Emperor, during the whole remainder of the day, did not appear to be occupied with the subject, for in spite of the precision of the order he made no

preparations for his departure. On the next day, the 28th of June, he sent for Count Beker, and declared that he would not set out till he had obtained such a safe-conduct as he deemed necessary for his protection. In consequence, he requested him to write to the minister of war, and dictated almost entirely the following despatch:

"Malmaison, June 28th, 1815.

"After having communicated to the Emperor the decree of the government relative to his departure for Rochefort, his Majesty has commanded me to announce to your excellency that he refuses to undertake the journey, because, communication not being free, he does not feel that he has a sufficient guarantee for his personal safety.

"Moreover, on arriving at that destination, the Emperor considers himself a prisoner, inasmuch as his departure from the Isle of Aix is made to depend on the receipt of passports for America, which will, without doubt, be refused.

"In consequence of this interpretation, the Emperor has determined to await this decree affecting his person at Malmaison, and until informed of his fate by the Duke of Wellington, to whom the government can announce his resignation, Napoleon will remain at Malmaison, persuaded that no measures will be adopted against him which are not worthy of the nation and of its government.

(Signed) "COUNT BEKER,

"Lieutenant-General."

Whilst the rest of the courtiers who had survived the first departure from the Elysée Bourbon disappeared one by one from Malmaison, and the saloons in which Queen Hortense formerly did the honours with so worthy a grace, and in which she received her step-father with such respectful affection and touching tenderness, were becoming more and more deserted, the great dignitaries of state, the marshals of the empire, disappeared. Louis XVIII. was approaching, and their eyes were directed towards the quarter from whence, under a new master, they might receive the same honours which they feared they had already lost. Aides-de-camp and general officers, covered with the dust of a skirmish, arrived from time to time, bringing news, and coming to solicit orders which they did not receive; for the Emperor kept himself more and more apart, and only allowed the grand marshal and the aides-de-camp on service to approach his person.

The case was different with the population, from that of the high dignitaries and marshals: they ran together from all sides, to testify their despair at the Emperor's abdication, and to entreat him not to abandon the country to the guidance of traitors who were about to restore the crown to the King of the Nobles—for thus they usually styled Louis XVIII.

During the course of the day, a despatch arrived for General Beker: it was at first supposed to relate to the Emperor's departure, but it referred to a very different subject.

The enemy was advancing, and fears were entertained for the Emperor. The despatch was as follows:

ORDER OF THE MINISTER OF WAR TO GENERAL BEKER.

"Paris, June 28th.

"GENERAL,—You will take the command of a body of the guards at present at Ruel, and proceed to burn and completely destroy the bridge of Chatou.

"By means of the troops at Courbevoie, I shall also cause the bridge of Besons to be destroyed, and send one of my aides-de-camp to superintend the operations.

"To-morrow I shall send some troops to St. Germain, but in the meantime guard yourself against an attack by that road. The officer who is the bearer of this letter is commissioned to bring me back a report of the execution of the order.

"THE PRINCE OF ECKMUHL,
"Marshal, &c."

General Beker caused the order which he had received to be instantly executed.

At eight o'clock in the evening, a second message was received from the Prince of Eckmuhl, by which the general was ordered instantly to proceed to Paris.

On his arrival at the minister's hotel, General Beker passed a person who was just taking his departure from the prince, to whom he paid no particular attention. Having, however, joined the prince in the

garden, the latter, without allowing him any time to give an account of the mission which he had fulfilled during the day, asked him if he knew the person whom he had met in the vestibule.

"No, Monseigneur," replied General Beker.

"Well! my dear general," said the minister, "that is M. de Vitrolles, the agent of Louis XVIII., who has come on the part of his Majesty, to submit to me certain propositions which I think it would be for the interest of the country to accept. If mine are accepted, I shall to-morrow ascend the tribune to explain the nature of our situation, and in order to show the necessity which I think exists for the adoption of projects which I deem useful to the national cause."

As may be well supposed, such an extraordinary confidence made a lively impression upon General Beker.

"Marshal," replied he, "I admit that I cannot conceal from you the astonishment which I feel at seeing you adopt a determination which is to decide the fate of the empire in favour of a second restoration. Beware of taking upon yourself such a responsibility. There are, perhaps, still resources to repel the enemy; and the chamber, by its votes in favour of Napoleon the Second, appears to me not to look with satisfaction on the return of the Bourbons."

The minister of war, perceiving that he had not gained the approbation of General Beker, broke up the conversation, and, entering his office, placed in

his hands a copy of the preceding document,* the original of which had, during the course of the day, been sent to the minister of marine. To this copy was subjoined the original note from the committee of government, written on a loose sheet, and addressed to General Beker.†

To this written order, the minister added verbal instructions, urging extremely the departure of the Emperor. Should he sojourn longer in the environs of the capital, it was said, he could no longer be answered for.

At the break of day General Beker set out for Malmaison, which he had left more sorrowful, more solitary and desolate than ever, for, on the preceding evening, Queen Hortense had taken leave of the Emperor.

On his return to Malmaison, General Beker gave the Emperor an account of his conversation with the minister. It gave rise to very melancholy reflections, and was so much the more astonishing, as this same Marshal Davoust had formerly sent M. Fleury de Chaboulon to the Isle of Elba, in order to call the attention of the Emperor to the opportunity of his return; and when he landed in France, Davoust felt himself so deeply compromised, that he asked for a refuge from M. Pasquier, surgeon-in-chief at the Hospital of the Invalides, whom he had formerly known in the army, and on whom he thought he

* See page 40. † See page 39.

could reckon. He was right. M. Pasquier concealed him so well, both him and the Duke of Bassano, that the police, who had received information of the fact, searched every corner of the Invalides to no purpose.

During this time a scene was passing which might have been followed by the most important consequences.

On the morning of the 29th of June, we were wakened by cries of *Vive l'Empereur!* (Long live the Emperor;) *A bas les Bourbons!* (down with the Bourbons;) *A bas les traitres!* (down with the traitors.) These cries were uttered by the division of General Brayer, which was returning from La Vendée, and had stopped before the entrance to the palace. The soldiers refused to proceed a step further, declared their earnest wish for the restoration of their Emperor, and protested that they themselves would proceed to take him by force and place him at their head, unless their officers consented to be the interpreters of their wishes. General Brayer yielded to the wish of his soldiers—ordered them to halt upon the road, and came to ask an audience of the Emperor. I was in attendance; I thought the Emperor was in bed, and went to waken him, when I found him sitting in his library reading Montaigne.

"What is it?" said he to me, turning round at the noise which I made in opening the door.

"Sire," replied I, "it is General Brayer, who is returning with his division from La Vendée."

"Well, what does he want with me?"

"He craves permission to see your Majesty, in the name of his soldiers, who, on being made acquainted with your presence at Malmaison, eagerly and loudly demand that your Majesty would consent to put yourself at their head."

"What does Marshal Beker think of this request?"

"I do not think he is at La Malmaison; but if he is here, he is asleep probably."

"Cause him to be sent for, if he be here, and let him come with Brayer."

General Beker had not arrived, and General Brayer entered alone.

A quarter of an hour afterwards, Brayer's division proceeded on its route towards Paris, repeating cries of *Vive l'Empereur*, and entertaining the hope of soon seeing him again on the field of battle.

In fact, on the return of General Beker, he informed him that he had resolved to put off his departure for some hours, in order to send to Paris and submit a new proposition to the government. This proposition was, an offer to resume the command of the army, in the name of Napoleon the Second.

The General, astonished, at first attempted to escape this mission.

"Sire," said he, "how can I venture, in my position, to undertake such a mission? Would it not be better fulfilled by an officer of the imperial household, than by a member of the chambers, and a com-

missioner of the government, whose instructions are limited to accompanying your Majesty?"

"General," said the Emperor, "I have confidence in your loyalty, and entrust you, in preference to any other, with this mission; fulfil it instantly, and you will render me a new service."

The General bowed.

"Sire," replied he, "I am proud of this proof of such a generous confidence, and since my devotedness may, perhaps, be useful to your Majesty, I do not hesitate to undertake it."

General Beker sprang into a post-chaise, and, without losing an instant, set off for Paris; but when he arrived at the Pont de Neuilly, he was obliged to leave his carriage—barricades having been erected across the bridge—and to creep along outside the parapet, at the risk of falling into the Seine. On the other side, he found a hackney carriage, and took possession of it.

The General was introduced as soon as announced; the commission of government held its sittings permanently. His presence excited a surprise which no one attempted to dissemble. He was believed to be already on the road to Rochefort with Napoleon. But their surprise was greatly increased, when the General, bowing to the commission, thus addressed them:—

"Gentlemen, the Emperor sends me to inform you that the situation of France, the wishes of all true patriots, and the cries of the soldiery, demand his

presence to save our country. It is no longer as Emperor that he demands this, but as a General, whose name and reputation may still exercise a powerful influence over the fate of the empire. After having repulsed our enemies, he promises to retire to the United States to accomplish his destiny."

A few lines, dictated to General Beker by the Emperor, developed his plan of operation, which, according to all reasonable chances of success, would have had the effect of driving the allied troops out of France, and avenging the disasters of Waterloo. 80,000 men were collected about Paris; that is, 30,000 more than the Emperor had had under his command in the campaign of 1814, and he had then, for three months, resisted the united armies of Russia, Austria, and Prussia; and France was aware that it would have been victorious in this struggle, had it not been for the capitulation of Paris. It was 45,000 more than General Bonaparte had when he crossed the Alps and conquered Italy.

The provisional government, instead of embracing the proposal, received it with a sort of terror. The president caused General Beker to sit down beside him, and, without consulting any of his colleagues, addressed him as follows:

"How could you, Sir, take upon yourself such a duty, when you should rather have urged the Emperor to hasten his departure, on account of his personal safety, which we can no longer secure; for the enemy is rapidly advancing upon Paris, and the despatches

of our Generals, this morning arrived, inform us of numerous cases of desertion. See," added he, laying before General Beker a bundle of papers—"read these despatches from Generals Grouchy, Vandamme, and others; and you will perceive that a more protracted delay will expose his Majesty to the danger of falling into the hands of the allies."

General Beker took the letters in silence, and perused them.

"Come, General," said the Duke of Otranto, whilst he was thus occupied, "tell me honestly who was with the Emperor, when he sent you on this errand?"

The General had no reasons for keeping silence; he named, amongst other persons, the Duke of Bassano.

"Now," said Fouché, "I begin to understand who gave the Emperor this advice; but tell him that his offers cannot be accepted, and that it is most necessary that he should immediately set off for Rochefort, where he will be safer than in the neighbourhood of Paris."

"I am ready to return to Malmaison, my lord duke," answered General Beker; "but I should wish, at least, to be the bearer of an official communication respecting the result of my mission, for if I return to the Emperor with nothing but a simple verbal message, his Majesty may reasonably doubt of my zeal and sincerity in executing his commands.

"Be it so," answered Fouché; and he wrote rapidly the following note:

"As the provisional government cannot accept the offer which General Beker has made them on the part of his Majesty, for reasons which you will yourself be well able to appreciate, I entreat you, my lord duke, to make use of the influence which you have constantly exercised over his mind, in persuading him to set out without delay, inasmuch as the Russians are advancing upon Versailles, etc. etc.

(Signed) "THE DUKE OF OTRANTO."

Whilst the duke was writing, his colleagues had not attempted to break the silence. General Carnot was walking gloomily, and in silence, up and down the room. The Duke of Vicenza, Baron Quinette, and General Grenier, sat silently around the table. General Beker turned upon them a last look of entreaty; he read in their countenances that their resolution was taken, and, receiving the letter from the hands of the duke, he left them with his heart filled with grief.

In the ante-chamber and in the waiting-rooms, he found an eager multitude of generals and high dignitaries of the empire, anxious, not at seeing the enemy already at the gates of the capital, but at hearing that the Emperor was still so near them. There was but one cry—"Let him set off! Let him go! We can undertake nothing, either for his personal advantage, or for the good of Paris."

He left these persons to reap the effects of the disgraceful language of which they were making use; rushed out of the Tuileries, and entered one of the court-

carriages, which had been placed at his disposal by the Duke of Vicenza. This carriage brought him as far as the Pont de Neuilly; he crossed the Seine in the same manner as previously, and at the other side he found his own carriage waiting.

Half an hour afterwards he entered the court-yard of Malmaison.

Here a great movement might be remarked among carriages and officers on horseback. M. de Montaron, the Emperor's equerry, happening to pass at the moment, General Beker inquired the cause of the stir, and was informed that the Emperor was preparing to set off to join the army.

He had not doubted a moment that his offer would be accepted, and had made all his preparations in advance.

This sight was almost as sorrowful as that which had afflicted the eyes of General Beker in the antechamber of the Tuileries. He considered that he was about to extinguish this last spark of hope and glory by a single word. He prepared M. de Montaron to expect other orders, and entered the Emperor's apartment.

The Emperor was alone in his cabinet; he was dressed in a brown coat, white smallclothes, and jack boots, evidently a riding costume.

"Well?" said Napoleon, eagerly.

"Sire," answered General Beker, "in presenting myself before your Majesty with this air of affliction, which you cannot fail to remark, I consider that I

have sufficiently explained to you that I have not succeeded in my mission. Here is a note for the Duke of Bassano from the Duke of Otranto, president of the committee of government; it will explain to your Majesty the reasons which are opposed to the execution of your project. I requested this letter, in order to prove to your Majesty that I have used all my efforts to induce the provisional government to accept your offer. As I do not see the Duke of Bassano here, I commit this letter to your hands, assuring you, at the same time, that the provisional government is very anxious to hear that your Majesty has set off for Rochefort; for it appears that the enemy is advancing rapidly upon St. Germain and Versailles, and the least delay may endanger your personal safety."

He then related to him the whole scene, as it had occurred.

The Emperor listened in moody silence; then, with his general calmness of reflection upon subjects merely personal to himself, he said—"These people do not understand the state of men's minds when they refuse my offer; they will repent of having done so." Then, without a single muscle of his countenance betraying his emotion, he added—"Give the necessary orders for my departure; and when all is ready, you will inform me."

The delay was not long; an hour after General Beker returned, a calêche and four had been got ready, and they only waited for the Emperor.

A courier was in readiness to ride on and secure relays of horses.

The Emperor gave a sign that he was ready, and followed the general. He was dressed in a green over-coat, azure-blue trowsers, and a round hat.

He passed through the vestibule, still following the general, and entered the garden. Here, his servants were waiting to take their leave of their master. His countenance at this moment was sublime from its calmness and serenity; the more so, as this calmness and serenity was that of resignation.

He thus arrived at the gate of the park, where the carriage was waiting, and instantly got in. The grand-marshal Bertrand took his place beside him; opposite him sat the Duke of Rovigo, and opposite the grand-marshal, General Beker. As soon as they were all seated, General Gourgaud mounted the box; and, at six o'clock in the evening, the carriage set off amidst profound silence.

At the moment of placing his foot upon the step of the carriage, the general handed a letter to a courier, who immediately set off with it for Paris. The letter was directed to the minister of war, and was as follows:—

GENERAL BEKER TO THE MINISTER OF WAR.

"Malmaison, June 29, 5 o'clock in the evening.

"My Lord,—I have the honour to inform you that the Emperor is on the point of entering his carriage to accomplish his destiny. I shall take care

to announce to your excellency the day of our arrival at Rochefort, and shall not set out on my return to Paris till I have seen the Emperor on board.

(Signed) "COUNT BEKER."

The Emperor travelled through Rambouillet. Some hours afterwards, I received orders to set off in the carriage with the imperial arms, and to travel by Saintes.

During the residence of the Emperor at Malmaison, the Duke of Bassano used to bring him the letters from the sovereigns; as well as the book containing copies of his autograph correspondence, and the portfolio in which he was accustomed to place papers, the contents of which were known to himself alone.

Queen Hortense's devotedness to the Emperor was unbounded; she offered him her diamonds, and everything of value which she had at her disposal; and, when he refused her offers, she made use of stratagem to compel him to accept them. There never was seen so complete a disregard of personal interest. Her affectionate soul could not comprehend that she could have any other wish than to give her father, when in misfortune, proofs of her filial love and duty.

On great occasions it is almost always women who have given the strongest proofs of virtue and devotion; the reason is, that with men good and bad qualities are in general the result of calculation, whilst in women they are impulses springing from the heart.

CHAPTER III.

ROCHEFORT

ALTHOUGH I did not personally accompany the Emperor on the journey, it may well be supposed that I have carefully collected every circumstance which is material, so as to be able to give a faithful account of the most minute details.

The instructions of the Provisional Government enjoined General Beker not to allow the Emperor to stop in the towns; but towards ten o'clock in the evening, the journey having been so far performed with the most perfect silence, the Emperor expressed a desire to stop at Rambouillet. He was probably exhausted by the power and depth of his emotions—emotions so much the more oppressive, as they had been always mastered and concealed.

General Beker immediately ordered the postilions to drive to the *Château*, and not to the Post.

The Emperor clung with such tenacity to Paris, that he could not force himself to decide on having recourse to flight.

A quarter of an hour after having sat down to table, the Emperor arose and retired into his apartments with the grand marshal. As he had not said that he would pass the night at Rambouillet, orders were momentarily expected for proceeding. An hour having been passed in expectation, the grand marshal was at length perceived coming from the Emperor's chamber, and he announced that the Emperor, feeling himself indisposed, had gone to bed.

On the next day, the 30th of June, the journey was resumed at eleven o'clock, and by day-break next morning the party reached Tours, without the occurrence of any event to disturb the profound melancholy of the route.

At Tours the Emperor only stopped for a moment, and during that moment, he conversed with M. de Méramont, who had formerly been his chamberlain, but was, at that time, Prefêt of the Indre and Loire, whom he had sent for through the Duke of Rovigo. He then pursued his journey towards Poitiers, where he took some repose at the Hotel of the Post, outside the city.

During the halt, General Beker wrote to the Maritime Prefect of Rochefort, giving him notice of the Emperor's approach, and requesting him to come and meet him on his arrival.

This despatch was forwarded by a courier on horseback at full speed.

They proceeded on their journey, and reached the town of St. Maixent, where a serious event was very nearly compromising the safety of the Emperor.

Seeing a carriage with four horses stopping at the door of the Post-house, the whole population, excited by the different reports which they had heard from Paris, and by the warmth of their passions, which increased in proportion as the party approached La Vendée, rushed eagerly in front of the carriage, and with uncontrollable eagerness and curiosity, pressed around the travellers. The passports, different in form and appearance from those which were usual, only served to augment their curiosity, while some began to assume the character of defiance. An officer of the national guard carried the general's passport to the town hall, to submit it to the municipal officers, who were then sitting in permanent assembly.

During this delay, the crowd continually increased, and began to assume a menacing aspect. Fortunately, General Beker recognised in the middle of the mass an officer of *Gendarmerie*, who had formerly served under his orders. He made him a sign to approach, made himself known, and begged him to go to the town hall, and bring back his passport. The officer departed in all haste on his mission, and returned in a moment afterwards, not only with the passport, but with a further permission from the magistrates. He

then went in front of the carriage, pushed aside the crowd, and made room for the horses, which were driven off at a gallop in the direction of Niort.

A similar occurrence happened to the Emperor on his journey to his former exile, in passing through the village of D'Orgen, where the crowd was near pulling him to pieces.

On arriving at Niort, the Emperor, worn out with fatigue, expressed a desire for some repose, in consequence of which, the postilions, instead of driving to the Post, were ordered to stop at a small inn of modest appearance, from whence they were to start early the next morning. It was late, and they did not take the trouble to put the carriage under cover; it remained standing before the door. The Emperor ate but little of the hasty supper which had been prepared for him, and retired to his chamber without any one in the house entertaining a suspicion of his real quality. The heat was intense; and at the early dawn, he opened his window, and, observing a balcony, went out to enjoy the pleasure of breathing the fresh air more freely.

He had scarcely occupied the balcony for a few minutes, when Lieut.-Col. Voisin, on his way to early parade, passed the inn. He was surprised at seeing a person in a dressing-gown of white bombazine, with an ill-tied handkerchief on his head, walking on the balcony at such an unseasonable hour; he stopped—looked at him, and recognised the Emperor.

His first thought was to proceed immediately to the

quarters of his regiment, and to order his soldiers to mount; but, on reflection, he went to the house of the Prefect, and impressed him with an idea of the duty which gratitude imposed upon them, of showing proper respect to the Emperor, and the latter determined to accompany the Colonel immediately to the inn, to beg the Emperor to accept the Hotel of the Prefecture as a lodging during the time of his stay at Niort.

The news of his presence in Niort soon spread through the town, and amongst the troops; the enthusiasm was such as to prevail over every other consideration. Both people and soldiers exhibited a degree of fanatical exultation. A halt of a few hours was changed into a sojourn of forty-eight hours, and was only terminated by the Emperor's issuing orders for departure. The popular demonstrations had assumed a very serious character, and two regiments of cavalry in garrison at Niort wished, at all risks, to conduct the Emperor into the midst of the army of the Loire.

The army of La Vendée, commanded by General Lamarque, and the army of the Gironde at Bourdeaux, under General Clausel, exhibited the same disposition. Nothing appeared easier than to accuse the provisional government of treason, and to march upon Paris at the head of between 20 and 25,000 men, escorted by 100,000 fanatical peasants. The state of things was communicated by writing to the two generals above mentioned, and General Clausel answered, that he was ready to bring 10,000 men, whom he had under

his command. General Lamarque negotiated. He did not feel it to be consistent with his duty to act in person against a government appointed by the Chambers, but he fully perceived the danger to which the country was exposed, and was ready to fight against its enemies. On the other hand, the Emperor, in writing to Lamarque and Clausel, had rather yielded to the urgent requests of the Duke of Rovigo and General Lallemand than followed his own opinion, for he felt a real repugnance to the resumption of power, and could not, moreover, believe it possible that the provisional government would allow the Bourbons to re-enter Paris; in addition, he felt himself restrained by an unfeigned aversion to having the social destinies of France committed to him for a second time. In fine, this new revolution came to nought, like those by which it had been preceded; and at four o'clock on the morning of the 3rd of July, the Emperor descended the steps of the Prefecture, thanking the people, whilst he was getting into his carriage, for the generous reception which they had given him. Cries of "VIVE L'EMPEREUR! —REMAIN WITH US, SIRE!" re-echoed from all sides; but the imperial exile made a signal with his hand to the postilions, and the carriage was driven off at full speed.

The shouts of respect and devotion to his person which followed his departure, long resounded in our ears.

General Beker had availed himself of this halt, to write to the provisional government the following report:

"Niort, July 2nd, 1815.

"In order to accelerate the delivery of my report to the provisional government, I have the honour to inform them directly, by an extraordinary courier, that the Emperor arrived last night at Niort, very much fatigued, and very uneasy concerning the fate of France. Without being recognised, the Emperor has shown himself very much alive to the curious restlessness and avidity with which news is everywhere sought after on his journey. The demonstrations of interest which have been shown, have often caused him to say: 'The government is ill acquainted with the spirit of France, and has been too hasty in sending me away from Paris. Had it accepted my proposition, the whole state of affairs would have been changed. In the name of the nation, I could still exercise a great influence in political affairs, and support the negotiations of the government by an army, to which my name would serve as a rallying point.'

"On his arrival at Niort, his Majesty was informed by the Maritime Prefect of Rochefort, that since the 29th of June, the English squadron had doubled the number of its cruisers, and its vigilance, so as to render the departure of the frigates impossible.

"In this state of affairs, the Emperor is anxious that the Minister of Marine should authorize the captain of the frigate, of which he shall go on board, to communicate with the commander of the English squadron, should extraordinary circumstances render this step indispensable, as well for the personal safety of his

Majesty, as to spare France the grief and shame of seeing him carried off from his last asylum, to be delivered over to the discretion of his enemies.

"In these difficult circumstances, we wait anxiously for news from Paris. We entertain the hope that the capital will defend itself, and that the enemy will give you time to see the issue of the negotiations commenced by your ambassadors to reinforce the army in order to cover Paris. (This phrase and that which follows were suggested by the Emperor.) If in this situation, the English cruisers prevent the frigates from putting to sea, you could dispose of the Emperor as a general eagerly desirous only of being useful to the country.

(Signed) "LIEUT.-GENERAL COUNT BEKER."

On the 4th of July, two letters were dispatched from Paris, addressed to Count Beker, one from the Minister of War, conferring upon him the right of calling out the armed force, if necessary, to compel *Napoleon Bonaparte* to leave France. It ran as follows:—

"Paris, July 4th, 1815.

"GENERAL BEKER,—The commission of government has given you instructions relative to the departure of *Napoleon Bonaparte* from France.

"I entertain no doubt of your zeal to accomplish the object of your mission. With a view of facilitating it as much as in my power, I have issued orders to the generals commanding in La Rochelle and Roche-

fort, to supply you with *the necessary force*, and by all the means at their disposal to support such measures as you may deem suitable for the full execution of the orders of the government.

"Accept, General, the assurance of my high consideration.

"For the Minister of War,

"THE SECRETARY GENERAL,
"Councillor of State."

The second was the reply to the despatch forwarded from Niort, and was as follows:

"Paris, July 4th, 1815.

"GENERAL BEKER, — The commission of government has received your letter, written from Niort, and dated the 2nd of July. *Napoleon* ought to embark without delay. The success of our negotiations principally depends upon the assurance of this fact which the allied powers wish to receive, and you do not know to what extent the safety and tranquillity of the state are compromised by these delays. Had *Napoleon* adopted his resolution immediately, his departure would not have been impossible on the 29th. The commission, then, *places the person of Napoleon* under your responsibility. IT WILL BE YOUR DUTY TO EMPLOY SUCH MEANS OF FORCE AS MAY BE NECESSARY, *treating him with becoming respect. See that he reach Rochefort without delay, and take means for his immediate embarkation.*

"As to the services which he offers, our duties towards France, and our engagements to foreign powers, do not permit us to accept of them—and you will no longer entertain such proposals. Finally, the commission sees inconveniences in Napoleon's communicating with the English squadron, and cannot, therefore, grant the permission required for that purpose.

(Signed) "The Duke of Otranto, Carnot, Caulincourt Duke of Vincenza, Count Grenier, Quinette."

Notwithstanding this, wherever Napoleon was recognised on his journey, he was saluted by the acclamations of the people. These acclamations caused the last radiance of joy and pride to brighten his countenance. On passing out of the towns and villages, he pointed out to General Beker and the other companions of his journey, the infectious marshes, which at that time were covered with ricks of hay, and said:—"You see, General, that the population cheerfully recognise the prosperity which I have created in their country, and that wherever I pass, I receive the blessings of a grateful people."

On the 3rd of July, at eight o'clock in the morning, we arrived at Rochefort. The Emperor alighted at the Hotel of the Maritime Prefecture, and was received as a sovereign by Baron Banafour.

It was on the same 3rd of July, that Paris for the second time opened its gates to the enemy.

During almost the whole of the journey, the Em-

peror had continued melancholy, although his demeanour had never ceased to be calm and majestic.

A few words which occasionally escaped him, betrayed the manner in which his thoughts were occupied with the future, and showed that, at the bottom of his heart, he still cherished a hope of being again recalled by those, who, on the contrary, manifested such an extraordinary haste to be relieved from his presence. During the whole of the journey—not a word either of his wife or son. From time to time he took a pinch of snuff from General Beker's box, and as the box happened to be adorned with a portrait of Marie Louise, the Emperor once took it into his hand, looked at it for a moment, and returned it without uttering a syllable.

The arrival of Napoleon produced a profound sensation in the town; the whole population was immediately in movement, and filled the gardens of the Prefecture with cries of "*Vive l'Empereur.*" These cries were repeated with so much frequency and earnestness during the whole day, that in the evening the Emperor thought it his duty to yield to these prolonged marks of affection, and appeared on the terrace, accompanied by the Maritime Prefect and his suite.

The reasons of our sojourn at Rochefort till the evening of the 8th July, when we embarked to go on board the Saale, are a mystery which I have never been able to fathom, for I can never bring myself to believe that we remained five days at Rochefort to

wait for some boxes, directed by mistake to La Rochelle, containing matters which constituted a part of the grand marshal's appointments in the Island of Elba; but what is still more inexplicable, is that these same boxes never reached Longwood. On the 10th of May, 1821, they had lain five years and a half at the custom house in St. Helena, addressed to a person in the suite of the grand marshal, as is proved by a letter of that date written to me by Sir Hudson Lowe, asking whether he should cause them to be delivered according to their address, in consequence of the application which had been just made concerning them, or whether he should consider them as a part of the Emperor's personals, and send them to me.

My answers could not be a matter of doubt; the contents of these boxes were not comprised in the inventory which I had received, and I had, therefore, no legal right to receive them; I am ignorant what became of them.

It will be remembered that two frigates had been placed by the provisional government at the disposal of the Emperor; they were the Saale and the Medusa. The frigates were anchored under the protection of the batteries of the Isle of Aix, and under the command of Captain Philibert, whose pennant was hoisted in the Saale.

The Medusa, Captain Ponét, was placed under the command of the captain of the Saale.

On arriving at the Hotel of the Prefecture, a council

was called by the orders of the general, but conformably to the desire of the Emperor; it was composed of superior officers, military and naval—among whom was Admiral Martin.

The question to be discussed was, the safest course to be adopted to insure the Emperor's voyage to the United States.

It was, unfortunately, too late; since the 29th of June, the English cruisers off the coast had been doubled, and it was unanimously decided that it was impossible to leave the harbour without falling into the hands of the enemy.

Other means were then thought of and proposed.

General Lallemand was commissioned to go and sound the dispositions of Captain Baudin, who was in command of the Bayadère, at the mouth of the Gironde. He brought back the assurance that the captain was devoted to his Majesty—would receive him with the highest distinction, and place his corvette at his disposal.

At the same time, the naval officers of Rochefort offered to act as the crew of a small sloop belonging to a Danish merchant, who was father-in-law of one of them, named Besson, or, if the Emperor preferred it, of two *chasse marées*, with which they would attempt to convey him to America. The embarkation was proposed to take place during the night; and these brave young men entertained neither doubt nor fear.

Count Las Cases was commissioned and empowered to arrange the whole affair with Lieut. Besson, on

behalf of his father-in-law, and to provide all the necessaries for the voyage. These parties signed an agreement in form following:—

AGREEMENT between Count Las Cases on the one part, on account of whom it may concern, and Lieut. Besson of the imperial navy, on the other, on account of Mr. P. P. D'Offendorff, a native of Denmark.

"We, the undersigned, mutually engage to abide by the articles hereinafter stipulated, and express our acquiescence by our hands and seals. Count Las Cases agrees on his part, to place the sum of 25,000 francs at the disposal of Mr. Besson, provided the latter fulfil all the conditions hereinafter stated, article by article."

"Art. 1. The Count Las Cases places the sum of 25,000 francs in cash, at the disposal of Mr. Besson, for which Mr. Besson is to be accountable to Count Las Cases, without interest, at whatsoever period the whole sum may be returned.

"Art. 2. Mr. Besson binds himself to Count Las Cases, to fulfil the following conditions, by means of the ship Magdeleine, of ninety tons, sailing under the Danish flag, belonging to the above-named Mr. P. P. Fruhl d'Offendorff, and of which he is the consignee.

"Art. 3. Mr. Besson agrees immediately, and without the loss of a moment, to put the ship Magdeleine in a fit condition for a distant voyage; to provide her

with a cargo of brandy, which he will purchase with the 25,000 francs, placed at his disposal by the Count Las Cases; and engages strictly to follow the orders of his passengers, whom he binds himself to convey to their destination.

"Art. 4. As soon as the above-named sum of 25,000 francs shall be paid into the hands of Mr. Besson, the voyage, which he has engaged to perform, shall commence; and in case the voyage should not take place, in consequence of orders received from the passengers, Mr. Besson is to receive from Count Las Cases a sum of 2,500 francs, as an indemnity. Should Mr. Besson wish to continue the voyage on his own account, which he is at full liberty to do, the sum of 2,500 francs is not to be paid.

"Art. 5. In case the voyage be made on account of the passengers, and they are safely conveyed to their destination, Count Las Cases, or some one acting for him, shall pay to Mr. Besson a sum of 5,000 francs, or the latter shall be indebted to Count Las Cases in the sum of 20,000 francs only. In case, however, the produce of the sale of the ship's cargo should amount to 30,000 francs, the payment of 5,000 francs by Count Las Cases is not to take place, it being understood that the 5,000 francs in question are to meet the expenses of the Magdeleine.

"Art. 6. In case unforeseen events should lead to the loss of the vessel or cargo, Mr. Besson is, by the very fact, released from all obligations to Count Las

Cases, on account of the 25,000 francs received by him.

"Art. 7. Should Mr. Besson be obliged to incur any extraordinary expenses by the orders of his passengers, such expenses are to be repaid by said passengers, as well as any delay in the departure of the ship after the time fixed, at the rate of fifty francs per diem. Such delays not to be reckoned, till eight days after the ship is completely ready for sea.

"Art. 8. The voyage is to be considered complete, when the passengers shall have been conveyed to their destination, or when the ship shall have arrived at the port designed by Captain Besson, if the voyage be not undertaken on account of the passengers.

"In both of which cases, the above-named sum of 25,000 francs, shall not be paid to Count Las Cases, till six months after the safe arrival of the ship Magdeleine.

(Signed in duplicate) "THE COUNT LAS CASES.
"BESSON.

"Rochefort, July 6, 1815."

During the time in which these arrangements were being made, the General wrote the following letter to Paris, informing the government of the difficulties which he experienced:—

"Rochefort, July 4, 1815.

"I have the honour to inform the commission of government, that the Emperor arrived here yesterday morning at eight o'clock, having received from all the

inhabitants of the districts through which we passed, the strongest testimony of their respect, of their regret, and enthusiastic attachment to his person.

"Immediately after our arrival at Rochefort, the superior officers of the navy declared it to be impossible to sail from the roads of Aix, as long as the English kept such a large number of cruisers on the station in sight of our ships.

"In consequence of this opinion of a council of war, preparations are being made to get ready a corvette, lying in the Gironde, and to arm a brig, in order to take advantage of either of these opportunities, should the cruisers remain off the Pertuis, and leave the mouth of the Gironde open, so as to favour the escape of the corvette.

"As the success of this manœuvre is all but certain, he is anxious to obtain passports, which the English, interested in the departure of Napoleon, can no longer refuse. Prince Joseph having come *incognito* to Niort, to take leave of his brother, set out again for Saintes, from whence he proposes to retire to a country-seat in the interior of France, to await the determination of the fate of his family. The prince has been compromised by one of the *garde du corps* who raised a mob against him and some persons in the suite of the Emperor, on their way to Saintes, in order to go to Rochefort. The movement was suppressed by the national guard, who caused both the persons and carriages to be set at liberty.

"The Emperor is in perfect safety at Rochefort; he

does not show himself, although the inhabitants exhibit a great desire to see him, in order to express their gratitude for all the benefits which he has conferred on this country.

"We are in expectation that M. Otto will obtain the passports, and whilst waiting for his arrival, the best means are adopted to take advantage of any changes favourable to the Emperor.

(Signed) "COUNT BEKER,
"Lieutenant-General."

The council of the admiralty met daily; the Emperor was present at all their sittings, taking a part, article by article, in all their deliberations. In one of these meetings Admiral Martin mentions Captain Baudin,* commander of a corvette in the river.

On the same day on which Count Las Cases signed the agreement already referred to, the minister of marine became impatient at knowing the Emperor had not yet left Rochefort, and wrote the following letter:

TO THE MARITIME PREFECT.

"Paris, July 6th, 1815.

"SIR,—It is of the utmost importance, that the Emperor should leave the soil of France as quickly as possible. The interest of the state and the safety of his person imperatively require it.

"Should circumstances not permit his departure in

* At present a Vice-Admiral.

one of the frigates, it will, perhaps, be possible for a pilot boat to deceive the English cruisers, and in case this method be deemed suitable, it is not necessary to hesitate in putting one at his disposal, in order that he may set out in twenty-four hours.

" Should this plan be unacceptable, and should he prefer going on board one of the ships of the English squadron, or directly to England, he is requested to address to us a formal and positive demand in writing, and in that case you will immediately put a flag of truce at his disposal, in order that he may adopt either of these alternatives.

" It is indispensable, that he should not disembark on the French territory; and you cannot be too precise in your instructions on this point to the commander of the vessel on board of which he may now be, or on which he may embark.

" I forward you a decree on this subject, which has been just passed by the government, and send a copy of the same to General Beker. The terms are such, that I have nothing to add, beyond what I have already said to you, to remove all difficulties in the way of his departure, as far as in your power. I cannot too strongly repeat, his departure is a matter of the greatest urgency. He must not, however, be allowed to depart in a pilot boat for the United States, or in a flag of truce for the English squadron or for England itself, till he shall have made a formal and positive request in writing to that effect. This restriction,

with which he will be made acquainted by General Beker, will make him feel that one of the great reasons for the urgency of his departure is founded upon the interest taken respecting his personal safety.

" Should a flag of truce be sent, you will draw up the sailing orders according to the usual form.

" I subjoin an extract from the decree of the government, which you will append to the instructions of the commander of the flag of truce, in order to regulate his conduct. You will, in like manner, give this extract to the commander of the boat for the United States, should the Emperor select that alternative.

" You will be careful to appoint as commander of the vessel, a good officer, who understands how to combine the greatest firmness of purpose, with the observance of the respect necessary in such a delicate affair.

" Accept sir, the assurance, &c.

" THE DUKE DECRES.

" P.S. It is well understood, that if the departure of the two frigates be possible, no changes have been made in the orders given for conveying him to the United States in that manner."

On his part General Beker received despatches upon despatches, in order to hasten the departure of Napoleon; but the general always continued to maintain a bearing worthy of himself towards the Emperor, appreciated the force of events, and remained perfectly neutral in all those discussions which took

place daily in the council on the means of his departure, in aid of which he was to operate.

At length, on the 8th of July, at the close of a discussion, during which the General had continued to maintain his habitual reserve, the Emperor said to him—" Well, General, and what do you think of all this?—Every one offers me his opinion except you."

" Sire," answered General Beker, " I am not in a position to give an opinion, or advice to your Majesty, and for this reason I abstain. In a case so important, and in which there are chances to run, I might, perhaps, have reason at some future time to reproach myself with the consequences of my advice in the resolution adopted, should that resolution, instead of conducting you to America, cause you to fall into the power of the English. The only advice which I dare venture to give your Majesty, is that of adopting a prompt determination, and of carrying into effect, as speedily as possible, the plan which you may adopt.

" The fate of France is unhappily determined ; your Majesty may wait till agents are sent in your pursuit; from that moment the scene changes, Sire ; the powers which I now hold from the provisional government, cease, and your Majesty will be exposed to new dangers, of which it is difficult to foresee the result."

In pronouncing these words, the General was so affected, that his words produced a strong sympathetic emotion on the Emperor in his turn.

"But, General," said he; "should these events occur, you are incapable of giving me up?"

"Your Majesty," answered General Beker, "knows that I am ready to lay down my life for you; in such a case, however, my life would not save you. The same people who crowd under your windows every evening, and oblige you to show yourself, would, perhaps, prefer cries of another kind, if the scene were changed. Then, Sire, I repeat it, your Majesty, already threatened, would be completely compromised—the commanders of the frigates, receiving orders from the ministers of Louis XVIII., would disregard mine, and that would render your safety impossible. Reflect upon the urgency of the circumstances, Sire, I beseech you."

"Well!" said the Emperor, "since it is so, give the necessary orders for proceeding to the Isle of Aix."

The general obeyed, and then wrote as follows to the provisional government:

"Rochefort, July 8th, 1815.

"I have already informed the commission of government, that the Emperor arrived at Rochefort on the morning of the 3rd inst., and was only waiting for a favourable conjuncture, to put to sea. Contrary winds and the increased force and redoubled vigilance of the English cruisers, have rendered it impossible for any ships to sail from the Pertuis.

"In this condition of things, his Majesty not having received the expected passports, and being left wholly to his own resources, will go this evening to

the Isle of Aix, in order to be near the frigates, and to be able to take advantage of any favourable opportunity, should the winds at all favour their departure.

"As to the person of the Emperor, which your Excellency has anew placed under my responsibility, by your despatch of the 4th inst., all necessary precautions are taken to guarantee Napoleon against the attempts of his enemies. His Majesty is here in the midst of a people who are grateful for the services which he has rendered, and the feelings and behaviour of the troops and the navy leave nothing to be desired with respect to their former sovereign. However difficult my mission may be, in consequence of my double relation towards the Emperor and towards the government, I shall fulfil it, I trust, to the satisfaction of both, by being guided wholly by the principles of the highest honour.

(Signed) "COUNT BEKER,

"Lieutenant General."

On the same evening, the Emperor, in a carriage, surrounded by the whole population, and attended by his suite, proceeded to the shore, where the pinnace of the Saale received him and his suite, and immediately made sail towards the roads of the Isle of Aix. On the way, however, the Emperor gave counter-orders; instead of going to the Isle of Aix, he ordered to steer for the frigate, on board of which he arrived at eight o'clock on the evening of the 8th of July.

On the morning of the 9th, Napoleon rose at

break of day ; his intention was to go to the Isle of Aix, and the boats of the Saale were placed at his disposal, and received himself and his suite. As they advanced towards the landing-place, where nothing was at first to be seen but the sentinels, the whole became covered with officers, soldiers and people.

The Emperor had scarcely landed, when cries of "*To the army of the Loire,*" resounded from all sides ; thus, at the very extremity of France, on this small spot of earth, separated from the mainland, the cries were the same as at the Elysée Bourbon and Malmaison.

On his return to the frigate, the Emperor found the Maritime Prefect on board, who communicated to him the letters of the date of the 6th of July, mentioned above.

During the day of the 10th, the Bellerophon came to anchor in the Basque roads.

The Emperor passed the day on board the frigate. A friend who had been dispatched to reconnoitre the coasts, returned during the morning, and confirmed the impossibility of being able to leave the roads of Aix, and gain the sea.

In the night between the 10th and 11th, the Duke of Rovigo and Count Las Cases were sent to the commander of the English squadron, to ask if he had received any instructions relative to the departure of the Emperor for America, or if, not having such, he should think himself authorized to allow the frigates, or any other French or neutral ship with the Emperor

on board, and bound for the United States, to pass free.

The English captain declared that nothing contained in his instructions differed from the ordinary rules of a state of war, and that, consequently, he would attack the frigates, or any other vessel under the French flag, which should attempt to leave the roadstead. As to a ship under a neutral flag, he would cause her to be visited and searched according to the usual law of blockade. But, nevertheless, considering the great and exceptional nature of the communication made to him, he would instantly go and refer the subject to the admiral in command, who was cruising off La Rochelle.

He at first received the Duke of Rovigo and Count Las Cases with the greatest respect, and insisted strongly upon their taking lunch with him and the commanders of two sloops under sail at the entrance of the harbour.

Count Las Cases had been for some years in England as an *emigré*, and was acquainted with English. He therefore understood during lunch, some conversation which Captain Maitland supposed was only understood by his officers, and this circumstance derived some importance from the position of the captain, who was a near relation and intimate friend of Lord Lauderdale. The circumstance was also afterwards made a matter of bitter reproach against Las Cases. The English accused him of having violated his honour, because, as they affirmed, he had positively declared that he was unacquainted with their language, when the question was put

to him at the commencement of the conference. This, however, is not correct. The question was put collectively, and the Duke of Rovigo alone answered in the negative.

This mystification and piece of diplomatic chicanery proved, in fact, rather detrimental than useful, for no doubt the information thus gained by surprise from Captain Maitland and his officers contributed to induce the Emperor to decide on surrendering himself to the English.

This step had no other result than that of exciting the vigilance of the enemy, and the Emperor's situation became more complicated than ever. It was then that Captain Ponét of the Medusa came and offered to devote himself and his ship to his escape.

The proposition of this second Curtius was as follows: He proposed, under favour of the night, to take the lead of the Saale, to surprise the Bellerophon at anchor, to engage her in close combat, and to lash his vessel to her sides, so as to neutralize her efforts and impede her sailing. The engagement might last two hours, at the end of which the Medusa, carrying only sixty guns, and the Bellerophon seventy-four, she would necessarily be destroyed, but during this time, the Saale, taking advantage of the breeze which every evening blew from the land, might gain the sea, and a sloop of twenty-two guns, and a ship's pinnace, which comprised the remainder of the English flotilla, could not detain the Saale, which was a frigate of the first class, carrying twenty-four pounders between

decks, and thirty-six pound carronades in her upper deck.

Two circumstances were opposed to this heroic project; the refusal of Captain Philibert, of the Saale, and the repugnance of the Emperor to sacrifice a ship and her crew to his personal safety.

The 11th was passed amidst a number of schemes proposed and abandoned, in a state of hesitation, like that which had lost all at Elysée and Malmaison. After the whole arrangement was made with the Danish ship, the Emperor hesitated to trust his safety to a merchant vessel. Cæsar was not more confident in his fortune.

On the 12th, the Paris journals were received, conveying intelligence of the entry of the allies into Paris, the proclamation of King Louis XVIII., and his establishment in the Tuileries.

The effect which this news produced upon the Emperor, and us all, may be readily supposed.

On the 13th, Prince Joseph came to the Isle of Aix, once more to embrace his brother. He had made sure of his departure from Bourdeaux for America, and being always the most devoted friend of the Emperor, he came to beseech him to take advantage of their close resemblance—to offer to remain in his stead in the Isle of Aix, and to assure him that his departure from Bourdeaux and his voyage to America would meet with no obstacles whatever, because all his measures were well taken. The Emperor could not resolve to accept the offer. He would never consent

that his brother should expose himself to dangers which belonged to his destiny alone, and therefore forced him to leave the Isle of Aix, and gain the Gironde, whilst the communications were still sufficiently open, and that he might avoid the risk of falling into the hands of the royalists, who were already become threatening.

In the evening all preparations were made for going on board the *chasse-marées* during the night, and accepting the proffered services of the young officers of the navy, who proposed to form their crews.

The night, however, passed away without any order for embarkation being received, and, towards four o'clock in the morning, General Lallemand and Count Las Cases were sent a second time on board the Bellerophon, apparently for the purpose of obtaining an answer from the admiral, but, in fact, to ascertain if Captain Maitland would express officially, with respect to the eventual determination of the Emperor to throw himself upon the hospitality of England, the same opinion which Las Cases had understood him to express in his conversation with the English officers.

Captain Maitland's answers were distinct and positive. He had yet received no instructions, but he was in hourly expectation of their arrival; he was authorized to receive the Emperor on board in order to convey him to England, and, according to his opinion, the Emperor would receive in England all that attention and respect to which he could lay any claim.

He added, "*I am anxious that it should be well understood that I am only expressing my own personal opinion on this subject, and have in no respect spoken in the name of the government, having received no instructions either from the admiralty or the admiral.*"

On the return of Count Las Cases, the Emperor hesitated long as to the course which he ought to pursue, and I have reason to believe that he would have gone secretly on board the Bayadère, which, it will be remembered, Captain Baudin kept at his disposal in the mouth of the Gironde, had not private interests exercised a powerful influence in restraining him from a course which would have necessarily excluded a considerable number of us from having the honour of accompanying him, and delivered us up to the enmity and malice of the royal administration, which was already in action in Rochefort.

It is true, however, that ever since the Emperor's sojourn in Malmaison his mind was impressed with the conviction of the grand marshal and Count Las Cases, that he had reason to expect a magnificent reception in England, and that the extent and greatness of the popular ovation would be increased by the testimony of esteem, which would be given by the Emperor in throwing himself upon the hospitality of England. During his sojourn at Malmaison, he had said to Queen Hortense—"Give myself up to Austria, never! —she has seized upon my wife and my son! Give my-

self to Russia, that would be to a single man; but to give myself up to England, that would be to throw myself upon a people."*

Towards two o'clock, the Emperor summoned us to a privy-council, and, concealing from us none of the serious dangers of his position, he submitted to us the following question:

"Ought I to-night to attempt going on board the Bayadère—to endeavour to pass through the English ships, either in the Danish vessel or in the chasse marées of the young naval officers—or ought I not rather resolve to throw myself upon the hospitality of England, and accept Captain Maitland's offer?"

The grand-marshal, the Duke of Rovigo, General Lallemand, and Count Las Cases, were of opinion that he should go on board the Bellerophon, having first sent an aide-de-camp, who should be dispatched to

* Lord Castlereagh had caused a communication to be made to the Emperor, through the medium of the Duke of Vicenza, and during the negotiations of Fontainebleau. "Why," said his lordship, "does not Napoleon come to England instead of going to the Island of Elba? He would be received in London with the greatest consideration, and would there experience a treatment infinitely preferable to his exile upon a miserable rock in the Mediterranean. He ought not, however, to attempt to make his retirement to England a subject of negotiation, because this would lead to long delay, and give rise to difficulties. Let him give himself up without conditions; let him give this splendid testimony of his esteem for an enemy who has contended valiantly against him for ten years. He will be received by England with the most profound respect, and he will find, that it is much better to trust to English honour than to any treaty which could be negotiated in the present circumstances."

England with an autograph letter from the Emperor to the Prince Regent. General Gourgaud and myself alone were of a contrary and directly opposite opinion, which we endeavoured to enforce, by showing that it would be a thousand times better to run all the risks enumerated in the frank and devoted reply of Captain Baudin, who said he would take upon himself the charge of conducting the Emperor to the extremity of the world. In fact, if it proved impossible to escape the English cruisers, and to reach the American soil, going to England was a *pis-aller*, to which recourse might always be had. It was a complete illusion—we repeated it twenty times to the Emperor—a complete illusion to confound the intentions of the English ministry, with the public feeling of the English nation; that sound and calm reason ought to dispel this illusion, and recal to his recollection that the policy of St. James's had always been guided by a hatred for his person; and that those ministers who had encouraged and sanctioned the incessant conspiracies of the royalists—from that of the infernal machine, and the attempt at assassination by Georges Cadoudal, down to the treasons of 1814—could not, without being false to themselves and their convictions, receive the Emperor in England in any other way than as a trophy of Waterloo.

Unhappily, Gourgaud and myself were very young, and we had to contend against influences of long standing, well deserved, and justified, it must be acknowledged, by years of noble devotedness and the

exercise of the highest functions of the state. The attempt to make our opinion prevail over that of the Duke of Rovigo and the grand marshal, was a difficult thing; we were beaten, and ought to have been so.

On leaving the council, Count Las Cases and General Gourgaud were ordered to proceed to the Bellerophon, the former to communicate the Emperor's resolution to Captain Maitland, and the latter to convey to England the following letter, written by the Emperor to the Prince Regent:—

"Rochefort, July 13, 1815.

"ROYAL HIGHNESS,—The sport of those factions which divide my country, and an object of hostility to the greatest powers in Europe, I have finished my political career, and come, like Themistocles, to sit down by the hearth of the British people. I place myself under the protection of their laws, which I claim from your Royal Highness, as the most powerful, the most constant, and most generous of my enemies.

"NAPOLEON."

CHAPTER IV.

THE BELLEROPHON.

On the 15th of July, at daybreak, the Emperor, dressed after his traditional fashion—that is, with his small hat, green coat of a colonel of the chasseurs of the guard, and his sword at his side—left the Isle of Aix, and entered one of the Epervier's boats, which was to convey him on board the Bellerophon. The white flag was already flying upon the posts and in the roadstead, the Epervier brig being the only vessel which still retained the national colours.

General Beker accompanied the Emperor, less with a view of discharging the commission, with which he had been entrusted by the provisional government, than with that of paying the last mark of respect and honour to his Majesty.

Like all who have ever been admitted to the familiar acquaintance of the Emperor, he had felt all

the force of that irresistible attraction, which his powerful nature exercised over those who came within its sphere. Having gone on board the Epervier, he respectfully approached the Emperor and made a deep obeisance.

"Sire," said he, "does your Majesty wish that I should follow you to the Bellerophon, conformably to the instructions of the government?"

"No, no," quickly replied the Emperor, with that sagacity of mind which was peculiar to him; "no, not at all. No one will desire you to say that you have delivered me up to the English; and, as it is in accordance with my own determination that I proceed to their squadron, I do not wish such an accusation to be left resting upon France."

General Beker wished to reply, but his voice failed, and he burst into tears.

"Embrace me, General," said the Emperor, with that melancholy serenity of countenance which had never forsaken him for a single instant. "I thank you for all the care you have taken of me; I regret that I did not earlier enjoy your intimate acquaintance, I would have attached you to my person. Adieu, general—adieu."

Sobs deprived the General of the power of speech; a few words, however, struggled forth, and their import was understood. "Adieu, Sire, may you be happier than we!" He then left the brig and returned towards the frigate.

In the meantime, the brig had raised her anchor

and advanced towards the Bellerophon, preceded by her boats.

Napoleon descended into Captain Maitland's boat, steered by his first lieutenant, and was followed by the grand-marshal and the Duke of Rovigo.

At the moment in which the boat reached the Bellerophon, the crew manned the yards, and the marines were drawn up on the deck, but the Emperor was not received by a salvo of guns.

The captain, attended by his officers, awaited the Emperor at the gangway, and immediately offered to conduct him to the cabin, which had been prepared for his reception with as much luxury and comfort as was possible at sea, in so short a time, and on board ship.

The Emperor, who, during the whole time of his sojourn at Rochefort and the Isle of Aix, had worn an ordinary coat, resumed, as we have said, the uniform of the chasseurs of the guard, on the morning of the 15th, and we also put on our uniforms. Las Cases preferred a military costume to that of a civilian, a councillor of state, or chamberlain, and assumed the dress of a captain in the navy. He had served in the navy before the Revolution, and the Restoration having reckoned every four years to the emigrants as a step in promotion, he became a captain in 1815, and received his brevet, as well as the cross of St. Louis, which belongs of right to all who have passed twenty-five years in the service.

The Emperor had no sooner set foot on board the

Bellerophon, than he said—"Captain Maitland, I come on board your ship to place myself under the protection of the laws of England." The captain only answered by a low bow, and a few moments afterwards presented his officers to the Emperor.

At the moment when the Epervier was about to withdraw, after having discharged this last duty, which was to give her name a place in history, Marshal Bertrand delivered to the captain the following letter, addressed to General Beker:

"July 15th, 1815.

"MY DEAR GENERAL,—We have arrived on board the English ship. We must commend the reception which has been given us, and it is now our duty to thank you for the care which you have taken of us. I beg you to inform Madame and the Princess Hortense, who are in the neighbourhood of Paris, that the Emperor is well, and to convey the same intelligence to Prince Joseph, who is somewhere in the neighbourhood of Rochefort.

"I herewith send you a copy of the letter written by the Emperor to the Prince Regent; it is unnecessary to remind you not to show it to any one for fifteen days, at least. You will readily see how inconvenient it would be that its contents should be known before they have been published in the English newspapers.

"Retain, my dear General, an agreeable recollection of me, and accept the renewed assurance of my sentiments of consideration and respect.

"BERTRAND."

On his part, General Beker, whose mission was now at an end, wrote to the minister of war.

"Rochefort, July 15th, 1815.

"My Lord,—I have the honour to inform your excellency, that the mission with which I have been charged by the provisional government, that of accompanying the Emperor to Rochefort, has been, this day, accomplished in the roads of the Isle of Aix, at three o'clock in the morning. His Majesty, convinced of the impossibility of proceeding to America on board a ship of war, disdained to have recourse to any secondary means to favour his voyage to the United States, and has adopted the noble resolution of writing to his Royal Highness the Prince Regent of England, claiming hospitality from him and the English nation.

"In consequence of this determination, the Emperor has gone on board the English ship Bellerophon, Captain Maitland, who, by virtue of orders received from his government, has given his Majesty a reception worthy of the high rank which he has occupied among the sovereigns of Europe.

"Should your excellency desire it, I shall have the honour, on my arrival in Paris, to give in a more detailed report of the execution of the orders confided to me. I confine myself, this evening, to the confirmation of the fact of Napoleon's reception on board a British ship of war, and his departure for Great Britain; this step he has adopted, repeating his

anxious wishes for the re-establishment of peace, and the independence of the country.

(Signed) "COUNT BEKER,
"Lieutenant-General."

Whilst General Beker's despatch was on its way to announce to Louis XVIII. that he was really King of France, we were pursuing our course towards England.

At ten o'clock in the evening, we fell in with the admiral's ship, coming towards us under full sail. Having made a signal to us to cast anchor, she anchored close alongside the Bellerophon. The admiral came to pay his respects to the Emperor, and to request him to do him the honour to pay him a visit next day on board his ship, which was very appropriately named the *Superb*. The Emperor conversed for a long time with Admiral Hotham, appeared satisfied, and accepted the invitation to breakfast on board the Superb.

Every preparation was made on board the admiral's ship, as for a royal entertainment, and the Emperor was received with all the honours usually paid to crowned heads; the admiral and all the officers of the squadron emulating each other in testifying their respect, and we were struck with the great pains which was taken to make us forget our cruel position.

During the passage, the Emperor dictated the following abstract of his position at the Isle of Aix:

"The English squadron was not strong; two corvettes were stationed off the mouth of the Gironde; they blockaded the French corvette, Bayadère, and

gave chase to the Americans which daily sailed from the river in great numbers. At the Isle of Aix, we had two frigates of the first class, the Saale and the Medusa, the Corvette Vulcan, and the brig Epervier. The whole of these were blockaded only by one 74 of small size, and two smaller vessels. Captain Ponét of the Medusa offered to force a passage, by engaging single-handed, and at close quarters, with the English ships. There can be no doubt, that by running the risk of sacrificing one or two ships, we might have effected a passage, but Captain Philibert of the Saale, who commanded in the roads, refused to concur, and even threatened to use force, if any vessel under his orders should attempt to force a passage. It is probable that this officer had received direct instructions from Fouché, who was already openly acting as a traitor, and wished to use all means to deliver me up to the Bourbons. There was no longer any hope of being able to reach the sea by means of the frigates, said to have been put at my disposal by the provisional government, and I landed on the Isle of Aix.

"The garrison of the Isle of Aix was composed of an admirable regiment of marines, on which I could reckon; the officers had given me assurance of their devotion to my cause.

"The commandant of the island had been one of my former soldiers in Egypt, and the young officers of the navy promised to man the Danish brig, which belonged to the father-in-law of one of them—or two *chasse marées*—in which they declared themselves

ready to make their way through the English blockading ships during the night, and thus to gain the coast of America. It would have been necessary, however, to have touched at some part of the coast of Portugal for supplies, either with the brig, or the *chasse-marées.*

" Under these circumstances I called a privy council, composed of the officers of my suite—informed them of the impossibility of any longer calculating on reaching America by means of the frigates; and after having unreservedly explained to them my position, I requested them to give their opinions on the course which it seemed best to adopt.

" Two courses of action presented favourable chances, to try the fate of arms in France, or to appeal to the hospitality of England.

" In order to commence the former, I could have placed myself at the head of 1,500 marines, full of zeal, and completely devoted to the cause of their leader. They would have conducted me to Rochefort, where I should have been reinforced by the garrison of that city, whose spirit was excellent. The garrison of La Rochelle was also confidently to be reckoned on; it was composed of four battalions of confederates, who had offered their services, and were in a condition to form a junction with General Clausel, who commanded at Bourdeaux, and had protested his inviolable attachment to the cause of the empire; and further, this would have made it easy to unite the armies of La Vendée and the Loire, and to maintain

a civil war, if we could not have succeeded in re-entering Paris. But the chambers were dissolved, from 50 to 60,000 foreign bayonets were in France, and were arriving from all sides. Civil war could have had no other result, than that of placing me as Emperor in a better position to obtain arrangements more favourable to my personal interests; but I had renounced sovereignty, and only wished for a peaceful asylum; I could not, therefore, consent to expose all my friends to destruction for such a result—to be the cause of the desolation of the provinces, and finally, in a word, to deprive the national party of its true supports, by which, sooner or later, the honour, and independence of France would be established. I only wished to live as a private individual.

"America was the most suitable place—the country of my choice; but finally, England itself with her positive laws, might be also a proper asylum. It appeared from the language of Captain Maitland, that the Bellerophon would convey me to England, where I should be under the protection of the English laws; and it was reasonable to believe that the English people were too fond of glory, to fail in taking advantage of a circumstance which would form one of the brightest pages in the history of their country. I determined to go on board an English ship; but assuredly I would not have taken this course, had I entertained any suspicion of the unworthy treatment which was reserved for me. My letter to the Prince Regent was a public declaration of my confidence in the gene-

rosity of my enemies, and Captain Maitland, to whom it was communicated before my going on board the Bellerophon, having made no observation on its contents, by this fact alone recognised and consecrated the sentiments which it contained."

The state cabin was assigned to the Emperor, whilst the ante-room served as a dining-room and as a waiting-room for those who were in attendance. To the right and left of this apartment, two small cabins were hastily constructed, one to resemble a dressing-room, and the other to serve as a sleeping place for the valet-de-chambre. Every night an aide-de-camp slept on a mattress laid across the door of the Emperor's cabin, and the same etiquette was observed on board the Bellerophon, as had been done at the Elysée; in this arrangement, Captain Maitland acquiesced. Two sentinels as a guard of honour were stationed, by his orders, at the entrance to the ante-chamber.

Contrary winds rendered the passage from Rochefort to the coast of England slow and disagreeable. The Emperor suffered from the sea, without however being really sea sick.

We remarked, at a later period, that he was never really ill at the worst moments, although always suffering more or less inconvenience, except during those twenty-one days of calm, to which the ship was condemned to submit under the line; on the other hand, almost all of us were grievously ill at the commencement of the passage, but completely sea-worthy before we arrived at Torbay. Count Las Cases alone suffered to

the very last in bad weather, probably on account of his age, and the delicacy of his constitution. This circumstance led the Emperor to regret that Las Cases had assumed a naval uniform, which rendered his sea-sickness a continual subject of amusement to the English sailors, and annoyed the Emperor's national *amour-propre*. The Emperor wished him to assume the uniform of a councillor of state, but he told him he had not brought one; and he was obliged, therefore, to adopt the dress of a plain civilian. It was on this occasion, that the Emperor, having observed that he wore only the blue ribbon of the order of *réunion*, took a ribbon of the *legion of honour* from his dressing box, and giving it to him, said—"Place that in your button-hole, if you still recognise in me the right of repairing the wrong of not having conferred it earlier."

Notwithstanding the very respectful and honourable reception given to the Emperor on board the Bellerophon, we afterwards knew that there existed, at first, very strong prepossessions against us among the officers, as well as amongst the ship's crew. Several of them acknowledged it as an *amende honorable*, when an intercourse of some days with us had convinced them of their error. None of them had ever been able to approach the Emperor, without being filled with admiration of his goodness, and struck with that greatness of mind of which he gave proofs on every occasion; his calumniators could not, indeed, comprehend his genius; they never tried, but cruelly

abused and maligned this great man, by supposing him to be the concentration of all manner of vices and defects; in a word, he was the ogre of our popular fables, living upon human flesh, and reigning merely by the aid of his Mamelukes, *gensdarmes*, and secret executions. As to poor Savary, he was a ravenous tiger, stained with the gore of his victims. To such an extent did this impression prevail, that many of the readers of Pelletier's writings could not believe that the Savary whom they saw in the midst of them, was the same Savary whom they knew by name—that is to say, the executor of the great works of the modern hero; and their imaginations, filled with the most atrocious calumnies, invented and circulated in England in all forms by royalist vanity, found it extremely difficult to do homage to simple truth.

The conversions of which we are witnesses were renewed at a later period on board the Northumberland, and in St. Helena. It was only necessary for the Emperor to be brought into contact with those who were most strongly prejudiced against him, in order to dissipate their prepossessions and to secure their admiration. Sir Hudson Lowe himself was at times incapable of resisting his seductions, as he has often acknowledged to me with the expression of a hyæna which feels itself unable to burst the fetters by which it is bound.

On the 23rd of July, we bade adieu to France; at four o'clock in the morning, Ushant was in sight, and soon after we saw the coast distinctly. In the evening

we were in sight of English land. On the 25th, between eight and nine o'clock in the morning, the ship cast anchor in Torbay. General Gourgaud awaited us there; the government had not allowed him to land, and he was a prisoner on board the Slaney. In order to prevent him from having any communication with the shore, the sloop was placed in quarantine, to prevent all possible access.

This state of things was a sinister omen of the fate which awaited us, and cast such a dark shade over our thoughts, that we were insensible to the magnificent aspect of the hills among which we were embosomed; we were only roused from our gloom by the immense and endless spectacle of beautiful and elegant women, who saluted us with their pocket-handkerchiefs and shawls, which they transformed into flags as evidences of their sympathy. This revived our hopes that the national feeling would open the gates of England for our reception, or at least force the ministers to allow us to proceed to America.

Such of us as were acquainted with English, endeavoured to ascertain the truth by conversing with such of the officers of the Bellerophon as had been led by their duties to be in communication with the shore or with the Slaney. Their reserve, however, baffled all our efforts, and gave us multiplied proofs of the manner in which a uniform changes the whole nature of man. The independent character of the English is no longer to be recognised under the epaulette, and so great was the mystery, and the mouths so close, that

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we could almost have believed ourselves on board one of the Venetian galleys belonging to the Council of Ten. The thoughtful and anxious brow of Captain Maitland was the only indication which betrayed the nature of the news he had received at Torbay.

On the next day, Count Las Cases received a letter through the hands of Captain Maitland, from Lady Clavering in London. This lady was an old and faithful friend of Madame de Las Cases. The secrecy of letters is the only thing which is inviolable in English policy. With a very few rare exceptions, we cannot say as much for France.

Lady Clavering had heard, by the public papers, of our going on board the Bellerophon, and of our expected arrival in England, either at Torbay or Plymouth. She was anxious to send duplicates of the reports which prevailed in London respecting the determination of the government. M. de Las Cases said nothing; he kept to himself the dreadful news which he had learned, of the almost certainty of our deportation to St. Helena. He said nothing even to the Emperor, because, as he often told us, he was not willing to cease to act as a comforter.

The Duke of Rovigo, however, received an account from London, of the highest importance, which dissipated every shadow of the illusion under which the Emperor had hitherto laboured.

The privy council had just held a deliberation on the question, whether the terms of the proceedings of

the Congress of Vienna prevented England from delivering up the Emperor to the vengeance of Louis XVIII.; and the despatches of the Duke of Wellington urged them to adopt bloody and terrible determinations. The energetic opposition of the Duke of Sussex alone, saved England from the infamy of committing an execrable crime.*

During the night between the 25th and 26th, the Bellerophon weighed anchor, and sailed for Plymouth, where we cast anchor towards noon.

We had scarcely cast anchor, when a number of armed boats proceeded to take their stations like sentinels around the ship, and no one was allowed to approach without a pass from the admiral, and two frigates made signals for sailing.

Admiral Keith communicated all his orders or those of the government by signals—no one came on board. It was no longer possible to be under any illusion respecting our fate, and we would have deemed ourselves fortunate in being able to hope that the Castle of Dumbarton in Scotland, or the Tower of London, might be assigned as the Emperor's prison. St. Helena appeared nothing less than a burning tomb in the midst of the Atlantic.

On the 27th, Captain Maitland informed the grand

* "The Times" of the 24th or 25th of July, 1815, and the "Journal des Debats" of the 30th of the same month, prove the truth of this fact, and were intended to justify beforehand the decisions adopted to deliver the Emperor Napoleon to a court-martial to condemn him to death.

marshal, that he had just received orders to cause all the officers who no longer constituted a part of the Emperor's personal attendants, and especially the Poles, to be put on board a frigate, and that, probably, Admiral Keith would come during the day to announce the decision of the government.

The admiral, however, having been repeatedly announced by signals, came only for a few minutes, and said nothing. He was hourly expecting orders for himself, which he had not yet received.

On our part, everything was put in requisition to parry the stroke which threatened us. The Duke of Rovigo succeeded in establishing secret communications with an English lawyer, who sent him a variety of notes and documents, in order to guide us in the adoption of a course, which, as he said, would place the Emperor under the protection of the English law, and render it impossible to close the gates of the country against him.

Acting on this advice, the Emperor immediately dictated a protest and a memorandum to Count Las Cases. A sailor, who was a good swimmer, conveyed it to Plymouth by night, and on the next day it was in London, in the hands of a celebrated advocate; and we began again to hope!

At Plymouth, still more than at Torbay, the harbour was covered by boats of all descriptions. The population from ten leagues round came in crowds to hail the illustrious prisoner; and there was nothing

but one continual hurrah of acclamation and indications of enthusiasm.

Amongst the rest there was a light yawl, decorated with flowers, which contained a young woman of exquisite beauty and grace, who paid her respects to the Emperor by lifting up her child in her arms, and presenting to his view her most precious possession. The brutality of one of the guard-boats capsized the yawl, and a general shout of indignation was raised. One of the midshipmen of the Bellerophon and several sailors plunged into the sea—the mother was almost immediately rescued from danger—her first cry was for her child; I was attracted by the sound, and well remember the pleasure which I felt on hearing, "The child is saved."

In fact, a midshipman dived into the sea, whilst assistance was directed towards him from all sides. After the lapse of a few moments, the brave youth was taken up by a boat and brought on board the Bellerophon, with the child, which he had saved.

This dramatic scene produced such an effect upon our minds, that it served to withdraw us from the contemplation of our own melancholy position.

On the 30th July, Admiral Keith came on board, accompanied by the under-secretary of state, Sir Henry Bunbury, whom the ministry had commissioned to announce their decision to the Emperor. He accordingly handed to him the following extract from the despatch of the Admiralty:

"As it may, perhaps, be convenient for General

Bonaparte to learn, without further delay, the intentions of the British government with regard to him, your lordship will communicate the following information.

"It would be inconsistent with our duty towards our country, and the allies of his majesty, if General Bonaparte possessed the means of again disturbing the repose of Europe. It is on this account, that it becomes absolutely necessary he should be restrained in his personal liberty, so far as this is required by the foregoing important object.

"The Island of St. Helena has been chosen as his future residence; its climate is healthy, and its local position will allow of his being treated with more indulgence than could be admitted in any other spot, owing to the indispensable precautions which it would be necessary to employ for the security of his person.

"General Bonaparte is allowed to select from amongst those persons who accompanied him to England (with the exceptions of Generals Savary and Lallemand,) three officers, who, together with his surgeon, will have permission to accompany him to St. Helena; these individuals will not be allowed to quit the island without the sanction of the British government.

"Rear-Admiral Sir George Cockburn, who is appointed commander-in-chief at the Cape of Good Hope and the adjacent seas, will convey General Bonaparte and his suite to St. Helena; and he will receive detailed instructions relative to the execution of this service.

"Sir George Cockburn will most probably be ready

to sail in a few days; for which reason, it is desirable that General Bonaparte should make choice without delay of the persons who are to accompany him."

The Emperor listened to the reading of the document with profound calmness, and when Lord Keith and Sir Henry Bunbury had ceased speaking, he said to them—

"I am the guest of England, and not her prisoner; I have come of my own accord to place myself under the protection of the English law; in my case, the government has violated the laws of its own country, the law of nations, and the sacred duty of hospitality. I protest against their right to act thus, and appeal to British honour."

The admiral and under-secretary made no other answer than to give a respectful assurance that they would immediately transmit an account of what had just taken place, to the government.

During the evening, Captain Maitland forwarded to the admiral the following letter, which was put into his hands by the grand marshal.

"FROM THE EMPEROR.

"MY LORD,—I have read with attention the extract from the letter which you have communicated to me. I have made you acquainted with my protest —I am not a prisoner of war—I am the guest of England. I have come to this country in the English ship, Bellerophon, after having first communicated to Captain Maitland the letter which I had written to

the Prince Regent, and received from him the assurance, that his orders prescribed to him the duty of receiving me on board, and conveying myself and my suite to England, if I made such a request. Admiral Hotham afterwards reiterated the assurance. From the moment in which I was received on board the Bellerophon, I felt myself under the protection of the laws of your country; I am anxious to live in freedom in the interior of the country, under the protection and *surveillance* of the laws, ready to enter into all such engagements as may be thought desirable or necessary. I have no wish to carry on any correspondence with France, nor to mix myself up in political affairs. Since my abdication, my intention has always been to become a resident in the United States, or in England.

"I flatter myself, my Lord, that you and the under-secretary of state will make a faithful report of these circumstances.

"It is in the honour of the Prince Regent, and in the protection of the laws of your country, that I have placed, and do place, my confidence.

"NAPOLEON.

"July 31st, 1815."

On the 4th of August, the Emperor, yielding to the advice of Bertrand and Savary, dictated to Count Las Cases a new protest, and commissioned him to be the bearer of it to London; but Captain Maitland, on this point, refused to take the orders even of Lord

Keith. It was impossible to obtain from him anything more than the transmission of the simple protest.

PROTEST.

"At sea, on board the Bellerophon, August 4th, 1815.

"In the face of God and man, I solemnly protest against the injury which has been committed upon me, by the violation of my most sacred rights, in forcibly disposing of my person and liberty. I came freely on board the Bellerophon, and am not a prisoner. I am the guest of England, and am come hither even at the recommendation of the captain, who has stated that he had orders from the government to receive me, and convey me to England with my suite, if that was agreeable to me. I presented myself in good faith, and came to place myself under the protection of the laws of England. As soon as I set my foot on board the Bellerophon, I felt myself on the soil of the British people. If the orders issued by the government to the captain of the Bellerophon, to receive myself and my suite, were merely intended as a snare, then they have forfeited their honour, and tarnished the glory of their flag.

"If such an act was really done, it would be in vain for England in future to speak of her faith, her laws, and her liberty. British faith will have perished in the hospitality of the Bellerophon.

"I appeal to history: it will say, that an enemy, who for twenty years carried on war against the English people, came, in the day of his misfortune, to seek an asylum under her laws, and what more

splendid proof could he give of his confidence and esteem? But how did England respond to such magnanimity? She pretended to offer the hand of hospitality to her enemy, and when he trusted to her fidelity, she immolated him.

(Signed) "NAPOLEON."

From the middle of the night, we were under sail, plunging through a raging sea in order to reach Start Bay, the place of *rendezvous* indicated by signals, there to wait the arrival of the Northumberland, which was being prepared for sea with all haste at Portsmouth.

The government was anxious at any cost to prevent the Emperor from remaining longer in contact with the population. Their attitude caused the government uneasiness, as it was not easy to see how far their usual influence might extend over the crew of our ship; officers and sailors unanimously and loudly testified their indignation at the ungenerous breach of hospitality.

The anchorage in Start Bay is bad, and we were horribly tossed about by the waves, and for many days dreadful sea sickness diverted our minds from our sufferings.

Towards the close of the day, the Northumberland and two frigates filled with troops cast anchor by our side.

Immediately afterwards, Lord Keith came on board the Bellerophon, accompanied by Admiral Sir George Cockburn, whom he presented to the Emperor, and

who was the bearer of a communication, by virtue of which, he was about to convey him to St. Helena.

The instructions of Lord Bathurst, minister of the colonies, gave directions to subject the baggage to the most minute examination, and required the surrender to the admiral of all money or articles of value in gold or diamonds; our arms were to be demanded as from prisoners of war.

This last point gave rise to one of those silent but sublime scenes, to which my pen is wholly unable to do justice, but the impressiveness of which every one will understand by reading the simple but faithful narration of what took place.

The admirals had been received by the Emperor in the state-cabin. Bertrand and myself stood behind, with our backs to the stern windows.

General Gourgaud remained by the starboard guns, prepared for any event. The Emperor, a few feet in front of us, appeared to expect that he had only to receive their adieus, when Lord Keith, at length resigning himself to the execution of an order which was at variance with the whole of his long and brilliant military career, approached the Emperor, and said in a voice subdued by lively emotion—"England demands your sword."

The Emperor by a convulsive movement placed his hand upon that sword, which an Englishman dared to demand—the terrible expression of his eye was the only reply; never had it been more powerful or more penetrating. The old admiral was astounded, his

tall figure shrunk, his head, white with years, fell upon his breast like that of a criminal shrinking before the sentence of his judge.

The Emperor retained his sword.

The two admirals saluted the Emperor with a respect accompanied by deep emotion, and withdrew, without uttering a word to disturb the solemn impression which the scene had made upon all beholders, English as well as French.

The baggage was not examined till we were on board the Northumberland. This duty was then performed by the secretary of Sir George Cockburn; and for form's sake, each of us surrendered what he pleased of the money which he carried.

The grand marshal gave up 4,000 Napoleons, as constituting the Emperor's chest; we kept secret about 400,000 francs in gold, from 3 to 400,000 francs in valuables and diamonds; and letters of credit for more than 4,000,000 francs.

It was now become the duty of the Emperor to select those who were to accompany him—we expected his decision with anxiety—all of us, with the exception of one poor lady, who was for a moment agitated by painful regrets, were eager to give proofs of our devotedness, and to show that our attachment was to his person, and not to his sceptre; and the more ingratitude and defection we had seen, the greater honour we attached to the privilege of being allowed to follow his fortunes.

Savary having been excluded by the ministry, was in

despair. He loved the Emperor with all his heart, and with such affection, that I can compare it to nothing else than that of a dog for his master. Lallemand was reminded of his condemnation; he thought he was about to be delivered up to the vengeance of the royalists, but he contemned death, and said, smiling, "May the devil carry off those who, at the Isle of Aix, preached up to us the hospitality of the English!"

"Come, Savary, what will you do? We have during twenty years so often escaped this inevitable death, that it must at last overtake us; my only embarrassment is this—I should rather have been killed by a Mameluke at the Pyramids, or by an Englishman at Waterloo, than by a Frenchman on the plain of Grenelle." I felt thoroughly happy when the Emperor, having sent for me, said to me, affectionately:

"Montholon, I have selected you without speaking to you, because I reckoned on you; Bertrand does not hesitate this time. Count Las Cases has begged me to accept of him—do you know him? His conversation pleases me; he appears to be very well informed, and I believe him to be devoted to my cause. What a singular destiny has his been!—twenty-four years ago, he emigrated, disguised as a jockey, in the suite of Louis XVIth's family; and now he is my chamberlain, going into voluntary exile with me! Bring him in."

General Gourgaud would not on any account quit the Emperor; as an officer of artillery, he had attracted

the Emperor's notice on several battle-fields, and especially at Wagram. I had, since that battle, been attached to his person as first officer of ordnance.

The Emperor obtained permission from Admiral Keith to consider M. de Las Cases as private secretary, and he consequently became one of the officers.

When once the destiny of each of us was fixed, a few hours of calm succeeded our cruel anxieties; everything appeared to be in its original state—so true is it, that we French accommodate ourselves instantaneously to our good, as to our evil fortune.

I feel it my duty to notify the instructions given by the government to Rear-Admiral Cockburn, and by Admiral Keith to Captain Maitland.

ORDERS FROM ADMIRAL KEITH TO CAPTAIN MAITLAND, Commander of his Majesty's ship Bellerophon.

"In Roads, at Start Bay, August 6, 1815.

"All arms of every description are to be taken from the French, of whatever rank, who are on board his Majesty's ship under your command; the arms are to be carefully collected, and to remain under your charge, as long as the French remain on board the Bellerophon; they will afterwards be under the charge of the captain of the ship to which the said individuals may be transferred."

This order was not fully executed; our swords were left us, and only the fire-arms were taken.

INSTRUCTIONS OF MINISTERS TO ADMIRAL COCKBURN.

" When General Bonaparte leaves the Bellerophon to go on board the Northumberland, it will be the most suitable time for Admiral Cockburn to have the effects examined, which General Bonaparte may have brought with him.

" The admiral will allow the baggage, wines, and provisions, which the General may have brought with him, to be taken on board the Northumberland. Among the baggage his table service shall be understood to be included, unless his plate be so considerable, as to seem rather an article to be converted into ready money than for real use.

" His money, his diamonds, and his saleable effects, (including bills of exchange,) of whatever kind they may be, must be delivered up. The admiral will declare to the General, that the British government by no means intends to confiscate his property, but merely to take upon itself the administration of his effects, to hinder him from using them as a means to promote his escape. The examination shall be made in the presence of a person named by General Bonaparte; the inventory of the effects to be retained shall be signed by this person, as well as by the rear-admiral, or by the person whom he shall appoint to draw up the inventory. The interest on the principal (as his property is more or less considerable) shall be applied to his support, and in this respect the principal arrangement is to be left to him. For this pur-

pose he can, from time to time, signify his wishes to the admiral, till the arrival of the new governor of St. Helena, and afterwards to the latter; and if no objection is made to this proposal, the admiral or the governor can give the necessary orders, and the disbursements will be paid in bills on his Majesty's treasury.

"In case of death, he can dispose of his property by a last will, and may be assured, that the contents of his testament shall be faithfully executed. As an attempt might be made to make a part of his property pass for the property of the persons of his suite, it must be signified that the property of his attendants is subject to the same regulation.

"The admiral is not to take any person on board for St. Helena, without the consent of such person, to whom he is previously to explain the necessity of being subjected to all the regulations which it may be thought proper to establish for securing the person of the General. It must be made known to the General, that if he make any attempt to escape, he will expose himself to close imprisonment; and that any of his suite who may be discovered in endeavouring to facilitate his escape will incur the same punishment.*

"All letters which shall be addressed to him, or to any of his suite, are to be delivered in the first place to the admiral, or the governor, who is to read them previously to transmitting them; the same regulation

* The Bill of 1816 threatens the pain of death against any one who should favour the escape of the Emperor.

is to be observed with respect to letters written by the General, or the persons of his suite.

"The General is to be informed, that the governor and the admiral have received positive orders to forward to his Majesty's government any request or representation he may think proper to make; nothing is left to their discretion on this point: but the paper on which such representations shall be written is to remain open, in order that they may subjoin such observations as they may think expedient.

"A true copy.

"To Admiral Sir George Cockburn."

The surgeon, M. Meugeaux, was so much alarmed at the idea of being subjected to the rigorous orders of these instructions, that he was half distracted, and declared plainly that nothing in the world should persuade him to set out for St. Helena. He was, probably, the only person in the suite of the Emperor whom the English did not wish to take the responsibility of removing. The admiral did all in his power to restore him to reason, but in vain, and M. Meugeaux quitted us.

Mr. O'Meara, surgeon in the Bellerophon, spoke very little French, but very good Italian; he had shown a lively interest in us, and now offered to replace M. Meugeaux.

The Emperor had often remarked him during the voyage from the Isle of Aix to England, and had even questioned him several times, with interest, concern-

ing the various circumstances of Sir Sydney Smith's intervention in the affairs of Egypt, knowing that at this period Mr. O'Meara had been surgeon on board the Tiger, the admiral's ship of the squadron cruising on the coast of Egypt, during the campaign of 1798 and 1799.

The admiral, at the request of the Emperor, hastened to take the orders of the Admiralty, who granted to Mr. O'Meara unlimited leave, with full pay, and permission to accompany General Bonaparte to St. Helena, in the exercise of the medical profession.

CHAPTER V.

THE NORTHUMBERLAND.

TOWARDS two o'clock in the afternoon, the Emperor, accompanied by the persons designed to form his suite in St. Helena, quitted the Bellerophon and went on board the Northumberland. This time no royal honours awaited him, nothing but respect, and an extreme affectation of formal politeness. The orders of government were positive. *It was General Bonaparte, chief of the French government, and not the Emperor Napoleon,* whom Admiral Sir George Cockburn was charged to conduct to, and retain as a prisoner in St. Helena, paying him the greatest military honours after those due to sovereigns. With regard to us, orders were given to accord the honours due to our various ranks in the army.

Everything was in confusion on board the Northumberland, which was quite dismasted when the

minister resolved on sending the Emperor to St. Helena, and when it was found to be impracticable to send the Bellerophon on so long a voyage, as she was a very old ship.

The Northumberland had, consequently, just been repaired; ten days had served to rig, arm, and equip her, and to bring her from the docks at Portsmouth into the roads at Start Bay; but the painting, the interior arrangements, and all the luxuries in the victualling department, yet remained to be attended to. The evening call showed that there were 1,080 persons on board, including two companies of picked men, and the staff officers of the 53rd foot. Captain Ross was the commander of this splendid vessel (of 80 guns); he was an officer of merit, and an amiable and obliging man; he paid all of us those little attentions which are so gratifying, and, to do him justice, never reminded us, by any of his actions, that we were prisoners on board his ship.

The space between decks had been divided into several chambers, for the accommodation of the Emperor and the admiral; in the centre were the saloon and dining-room; on the right and on the left a bedroom, communicating both with the saloon and dining-room. A mechanical bed, made in order to avoid feeling the rolling motion of the vessel, had been erected in the chamber destined for the Emperor, but he did not use it, preferring his ordinary camp-bed. This camp-bed was made of iron, and could be folded, after the manner of an umbrella, with two mattresses,

a pillow, the coverlets, sheets and curtains, in a leathern case, one metre high, and 0,45 centi-metres in diameter, which could be instantly attached to a carriage, like a portmanteau; during a campaign, a sumpter-mule carried it, along with his tent and its furniture. The curtains were of green taffeta, the mattresses and the coverlet made of wadded silk; nothing could be lighter or more convenient.

During the whole time of his sojourn in St. Helena, the Emperor never slept on any other bed.

His chamber on board the Northumberland was furnished in the same manner as his tent on the banks of the Moscowa had been. Since his departure from Aix he had re-assumed the green uniform of the chasseurs of his guard; he continued to wear it during the whole voyage. Lord Lowther and Mr. Littleton had, I know not why, obtained permission to be on the deck of the Northumberland when we arrived. They were presented by the admiral, and had the honour of attracting the attention of the Emperor, who conversed a long time with them on the deck.

It would be very difficult for me to express the astonishment and admiration of these gentlemen; they were astonished at the Emperor's extensive acquaintance with the social organization and resources of England. All that they saw and heard formed a perfect contrast with the false ideas which they had taken up with respect to the person and politics of Napoleon, before they had either seen or heard him. What interested them above all was, to hear, from his own

mouth, that he had constantly endeavoured to unite the two nations in the bonds of friendship and mutual interest, only demanding for France the sceptre of the continent, and leaving to England that of the seas.

During the few moments that we saw them, after the conference, they both exclaimed—"*Nothing would have been more easy than to come to an understanding with your Emperor! We never wished for more than what he himself acknowledges to be our right, and we shall surely some day regret having twice brought Louis XVIII. back to Paris; for these Bourbons are always the same; they acknowledge now that they owe us their crown, because they need us still, but as soon as they think themselves strong, they will become ungrateful.*"

With respect to Admiral Sir George Cockburn, he must have been in his youth a very handsome man; his countenance was open, and his eye sometimes full of fire.

Severity was with him a habit, because, as an honest man and good soldier, he pardoned neither want of probity, breach of discipline, nor cowardice. He possessed intelligence and a good natural understanding. The Emperor would never have had to complain of him, had the instructions of the English government been dictated with less hatred, and with less contempt of all human respect and the rights of nations.

Two frigates and seven brigs, or sloops-of-war, suc-

cessively joined the Northumberland, most of them having troops on board.

On the 9th of August, the admiral gave orders for getting under sail, and a few moments afterwards the whole squadron was under weigh, tacking in order to get out of the British Channel.

Several times did the shores of France appear before our eyes, as a vague and formless shadow appears in a dream, when the mind and thoughts are touched by a feverish impression; but, just as our hope of recognising or of seeing distinctly some points of the coast was about to be realized, the cursed signal to tack was to us as the awaking which destroys the illusion of a pleasant dream.

Once, however, while the Emperor was taking his accustomed walk on the deck, the coast of Brittany threw off the clouds which concealed it, and presented itself to our eyes, as if to receive our last adieux. France! France! was the spontaneous cry which resounded from one end of the deck to the other.

The Emperor stood still, looked at the coast, and, taking off his hat, said, with emotion—

"*Farewell! Land of the brave, I salute thee! Farewell! France—farewell!*"

The emotion was electric; even the English involuntarily uncovered themselves with religious respect.

From this moment we saw no more land till we cast anchor at Madeira, in the roads of Funchal, for the purpose of completing the stock of provisions necessary, as well for our table on board, as for the wants of the

establishment at St. Helena during some little time, for the admiral had already been several times at James Town, and knew by experience that he should find no resources there.

The aspect of Funchal is picturesque; the town is built on the slope of the mountains, and the ranges of houses rise one above another, like rows of flower-pots on stands.

We had for a moment hoped that we should be allowed to satisfy our curiosity, and that we should, at least, be permitted to approach the landing-place in one of the Northumberland's boats; but nothing of the kind; no one belonging to the ship was allowed to disembark, or to hold any communication with the land, except Mr. Glover, the admiral's secretary, and the purveyor for the ship. These two persons were taken to Funchal in a boat belonging to the frigate Havanna. Mr. Glover promised to execute all our commissions, for the purchase of various articles of the toilet, indispensable in a long voyage, and of linen especially.

No washing is allowed on board; the water is distributed in rations, and is very often so much spoiled that it smells badly; the Northumberland, however, carried her provisions in iron vessels, and the admiral had had several hundred bottles of water, hermetically sealed, put on board for the use of the Emperor and of his suite.

During the night a terrible gale of wind threatened to cast our ship on the coast. The admiral gave

orders to weigh the anchor and stand out to sea, but we were hardly under sail, when two of the masts were broken, and our inexperience of accidents at sea would very probably have led us to think ourselves, at least, in great danger of shipwreck, had the promptitude with which all this mischief was repaired, allowed us to be aware of it; and, in truth, the discipline and *sang froid* which always reigned in the Northumberland were admirable.

On the next morning we awoke again in sight of Funchal, at the same point which we had left in the night—one might almost have believed that all the events of the past night had been but a dream.

At the commencement of the storm, the admiral had expressed a wish that none of us should be on deck; but he perceived my curiosity, and I was allowed to remain the whole time on the quarter-deck with Captain Ross. I only quitted it to go and apprize the Emperor of the state of things.

From the moment that the Emperor set foot on the Northumberland, he formed for himself entirely new habits; he constantly opposed the most noble resignation to the effects of Lord Bathurst's instructions, and perhaps by this means doubly obtained the respect and admiration of all the English who had the honour to approach him; not one of them could resist the magical influence of his actions and words—and every day we remarked the admiral advancing a step nearer to the conduct which he would doubtless have assumed from the first, if his instructions had pre-

scribed to him respect for crowned heads, instead of the severity of a gen-d'arme who is answerable for his prisoner.

The Emperor breakfasted in his room, and did not appear among the English till about four o'clock, when he passed into the saloon, and amused himself with a game of chess or picquet till the admiral came to pay his respects to him, and to take him to dinner.

An English dinner would have been too long for his habits—from the first, he rose at the time when ladies in England quit the table, and went to walk on the deck.

The admiral hesitated a moment—we all rose—and the English followed our example; the Emperor begged them to reseat themselves, and took the grand marshal alone with him.

From that day forward he continued this habit during the whole voyage; we each took our turn to follow him to the deck.

The Emperor almost always conversed during his walk on the deck with the officers, and often with the crew of the vessel. He questioned them about the actions in which they had been, and about the organization of the navy, and always astonished them by his own knowledge. He chose for an interpreter some young midshipman who spoke French, or Mr. O'Meara, or sometimes even a sailor or a soldier; for several of these were from Jersey, and spoke French perfectly well. There were also several Italians from the Ionian Isles or from Malta, whom he liked to call and employ as interpreters.

One day he perceived the master of the vessel, who, not having the honour of an epaulette, although responsible for the safe conduct of the vessel, as a pilot would be, avoided coming in his way.

He walked straight to him, questioned him about his rank and functions on board, conversed long with him, and concluded by saying to him, "Come and dine with me to-morrow."

The astonished master could not believe that the invitation was not a malicious trick of the midshipman who interpreted—it was obliged to be repeated to him, accompanied by an explanation of the Emperor's custom of honouring merit in whatever rank he found it. "But," said the poor man, quite overcome with so much honour; "the admiral and my captain will not like a master to sit at their table."

"Very well," answered the Emperor, "if they do not, so much the worse for them; you shall dine with me in my cabin."

This was a pleasure to the whole crew, and formed the subject of general conversation among us.

When the admiral rejoined the Emperor, and learned what had just passed, he affected much graciousness in assuring him, that any one invited by him to the honour of sitting at his table, was by this circumstance alone placed above all rules of discipline and of etiquette, and sending for the master, he assured him that he would be welcome to dinner next day. From this day forward, the crew, the squadron, and all the soldiers of the 53rd regiment, were to the Emperor

what French soldiers and French sailors would have been.

On the 1st of September, we were off the Cape Verde Islands. It was a great joy to us when Captain Ross informed us, during dinner, that we should see land before sunset, but much greater was our regret, when the wind, becoming violent, obliged us to stand out to sea, without having caught a glimpse of this promised and much desired land; happily, before night, one of the brigs was able to discover it, and to confirm by its observations, the exactness of the admiral's calculations—for some calculations placed us to windward of the isles, and if this opinion had prevailed, and the admiral, instead of struggling against the wind, had gone with it, we might readily have run aground without having been able to see the land, which was concealed from us by compact masses of clouds. The least novelty is a god-send during the tedious days of a long voyage — every one seizes upon it eagerly in order to renew the interest of conversation.

This occurrence gave an opportunity to the officers of the Northumberland of vaunting their skill, and I am not sure that there was not a little sarcasm directed against our navy in the great care which they took to recount to us the thousand and one examples of perils from which their skill or their valour had preserved them.

The Emperor having asked the admiral how many chronometers the Admiralty allotted to a ship of war, and whether it required merchant vessels to be pro-

vided with them, the conversation took another turn, and led the Emperor to speak of his efforts to supply France with a navy suitable to the importance of its commercial relations: "Unfortunately," said he, "I found nobody who understood me. During the expedition to Egypt, I had cast my eyes on Decrés—his intelligence pleased me. I reckoned upon him for understanding and executing my projects with regard to the navy. I was mistaken; his passion was to form a police, and to find out, by means of the smugglers, every web which your ministers, or the intriguers of Hartwell, were weaving against me; and then he always proceeded on a system of *coterie*, the navy of Brest against that of Toulon—no enlarged ideas—always the spirit of locality and of insignificant detail—paralysing my views. I was obliged to give myself great trouble in order to send a small squadron of frigates to drive your commerce from India and from the Antilles; the old routine always obtained the upper hand; I should have done you a great deal of mischief, had I been obeyed, but I was too much taken up with land affairs to be able to think of the navy otherwise than by fits; what I have done will be known, if ever my correspondence with Decrés is published.

"The navy of Louis XVI. was no longer in existence when I took the government into my hands—the republic possessed only four vessels of the line. The taking of Toulon, the battle of the river Jènes, in 1793—of Rochefort, in 1794—and finally, the battle of Aboukir, had given the death-blow to the navy.

Well! notwithstanding the disaster of Trafalgar, which I owe solely to the disobedience of Admiral Villeneuve, I left to France one hundred vessels of the line, eighty thousand sailors and soldiers—and all this in a reign of ten years, and whilst I had to struggle against a coalition of the great powers of Europe.*

"I ceded to England the sceptre of the seas, but I required that she should respect the French flag on sea, as an Emperor of Austria and of Russia had learned from me to respect it on land.

"The treaty of Paris has destroyed all that I did for the navy—centuries will, perhaps, elapse, before my work is recommenced—your power on sea no longer experiences any control; and if it is true that Louis XVIII. said he owed his crown to the Prince

* The Emperor might have added, that he had resolved upon the destruction of the humiliating system of piracy of the States of Barbary, for proof of this is found in his correspondence with Decrés, his minister of maritime affairs.

"Monsieur Decrés,—Consider the expedition to Algiers as much in a maritime as in a land point of view—one foot in Africa will give England something to think of. Is there a port on this coast where a fleet would be under the protection of a superior force? What would be the ports by means of which the army, once disembarked, could be revictualled? and how many different ports would the enemy be able to block up? In Egypt there is scarcely any port but that of Alexandria; Rosetta was a very dangerous port, and yet it was reckoned.

"Here I think there must be a dozen. How many frigates, brigs, or barges can they contain? Could Gautheaume's squadron enter the port of Algiers, and would it there be under the protection of a superior force? At what season is the plague no longer to be feared, and the air good? I suppose in October After having studied the expedition to Algiers, study that to Tunis. Write confidentially to Gautheaume, who, before coming

Regent, the latter might say with as much truth, 'I owe the empire of the seas to the Count d'Artois, who, at the instigation of Talleyrand, signed, without any necessity, the sacrifice of the finest squadrons France ever had.' In short, the treaty of Paris is such a betrayal of the French interest, that Louis XVIII. executed it as a thing done, but never ratified it with his signature."

Unfortunately for us, these outpourings of the Emperor's thoughts were very rare: he generally confined his conversation to some words of politeness, or of curiosity respecting our route; sometimes, however, he gave rise to scientific discussions, by asking questions respecting India or China.

On the 23rd of September, 1815, we crossed the line, by one of those singular hazards which sometimes

to Paris, may collect information; this information may extend to Oran, and apply to land and sea; the points to be determined by land are: whether there are water and roads? I suppose this expedition would require 20,000 men. You understand that the enemy would suppose it to be intended for Sicily, and would be greatly baffled, if, instead of that, it proceeded to Algiers.

"I do not require an answer from you before the end of a month; but, during this time gather such materials that there may be no 'buts'—'ifs'—'in cases.' Send one of your discreet engineers in a brig to talk to Monsieur Chainville—but he must be a man of tact and talent; he should also understand a good deal of maritime affairs, and must commit his observations to writing, in order that he may not bring us back any idle reveries. You might even arrange with Sauson, in order to have a fit person. You will find information in the archives of foreign affairs and of war—have search made in these archives and in yours: information on this subject has been demanded in France. "NAPOLEON."

occur, at latitude 0′—longitude 0′—declination 0′; that is to say, the vessel, conducted by a west wind, which had blown for several days, came under the line exactly at mid-day, at the first meridian, and on the day of the equinox.*

The passage of the line occasions a great merry-making, and a kind of saturnalia among the sailors; all is confusion— overturning of the natural order of things on board.

The boatswain represents Neptune; he is sovereign for a few hours, and no one is exempted by his rank from receiving baptism—a kind of grotesque

* The angle which the direction of a magnetic needle forms with the meridian of the place, is the measure of the declination. According to M. Arago, the declination was at Paris, in 1816, 22° 25′ 0″. In order to measure the inclination, it is necessary that the magnetic needle be suspended like the beam of a pair of scales. The angle which the needle thus suspended makes with the horizon, is the angle of inclination. In 1817, at Paris, the angle of inclination, according to M. Duperrey, was 68° 28′ 28″. In proportion as we approach the equator, the inclination diminishes; but the line which would mark upon the globe all those points at which the inclination is 0°, and which is called the line of no inclination, does not coincide with the equator. These two lines, however, cut one another in two points. The island of St. Thomas is situated 0° 29′ N. lat. and 4° 24′ E. long. meridian of Paris. The meridian of Greenwich is 0° 9′ 21″ different from that of Paris. The observations of Captain Sabine, made in 1822, gave at that time an inclination of 0° 6′ for the island of St. Thomas. The declination as well as the inclination vary each year: if the observation was correctly made on board of the ship which conveyed the Emperor to his place of exile, the coincidence of zero lat., zero long., and zero inclination, is an extraordinary fact, which will not soon occur again.

homage to be rendered to the monarch of the seas by any one who has not before passed the line.

Neptune exhibited towards us a very gracious respect; he exempted us from the ceremonies of shaving and of baptism; and when each of us, conducted by our godfathers for the time being, was presented to him, he told us that we had too often received the baptism of fire and of glory, to require another baptism before becoming his friends; and when the ceremony was concluded, he asked to be allowed the honour of making acquaintance with the demi-god, called General Bonaparte; the Emperor graciously consented to the presentation, and gave, through the grand marshal, 500 napoleons to Neptune, in order that he and all his court might drink to his health; this was a signal for deafening hurras and cries of "Long live the *Emperor Napoleon!*"

The Admiral and Captain Ross did not venture to oppose this royal liberality, but they feared, and with justice, the consequences of it, knowing that all this money, to the last farthing, would be expended in drink. The captain formed a clever plan; he congratulated the monarch of the seas on his good fortune, and harangued him so well, that poor Neptune called to mind the flogging which would next Monday await those who became intoxicated, and offered to deposit the 500 napoleons in the hands of his captain, to be returned to him on the discharging of the crew, on this one condition—namely, that an extra quantity of rum should be given out, as a ratification of the treaty.

This plan was a wise one, for, even notwithstanding it, Neptune and twenty of his subjects of a day would have been cruelly flogged next Monday, so intoxicated had they been, if we had not obtained their pardon from the admiral.

The English do not punish as we do, by the immediate decision of a superior in rank: with them the right of the superior only extends to taking a note of the fault of his inferior, without inserting it in his daily report; a council of discipline, presided over by the commanding officer, judges the criminal, after having heard him; in this way nothing is left to the arbitrariness, malice, ill-humour, or false judgment of the superior.

The organization is the same in the army.

The Emperor remarked it several times, and expressed regret that he had not given to the French army this disciplinarian organization.

Calms kept us inactive under the line for twenty-one days; murmurs were beginning to grow rather loud, when the most experienced seamen announced the approach of a breeze. Sir George Cockburn had followed an unusual route: instead of crossing to the coast of Brazil, he had persuaded himself, by the experience of past voyages, that it was better to keep constantly near the coast of Africa, and that in this way a shorter and less difficult voyage would be secured; he was, however, mistaken, for a frigate and two brigs, which had been separated from us during the early part of the voyage by a

violent gale of wind, and which followed the usual track, arrived at St. Helena sixteen or seventeen days before the Northumberland.

Any vessel in sight causes emotion at sea—how much more a sloop of war, with a white flag, advancing full sail towards us; the admiral made a signal to the brig to tack towards it, and we soon learned that this sloop, returning from Pondicherry, had approached us, and that its commander, appointed in 1814, had gone on board the English brig, in order to find out where he was.

This officer was an old *emigré*, and having, after thirty years' inaction, re-entered the navy, was unfitted, both by his age and by his having forgotten his profession, to command a vessel; but he would not confess this before his officers—in fact, he did not know where he was. A false self-love made him thus prefer confessing his ignorance to Englishmen, rather than deliver up to Frenchmen of the empire, who served under him, the care of conducting the sloop. The poor man had got wrong several degrees of latitude and longitude. While we were at St. Helena, another French sloop was lost on the coast of Africa, from the same cause—the incapacity of its commander, also an old *emigré*.

Every day, when the weather permitted, the captain of one of the vessels of the squadron was invited to dine on board the Northumberland.

The captain of the brig Griffin enjoyed this honour the most frequently; either because he had served

long with Sir George Cockburn, or that he was more interested in coming, and contrived matters so as to be always nearer than the rest to the admiral's vessel. He was a very honest fellow, and showed sympathy towards us; his name was Wright.

His name struck the Emperor: "Are you a relation," he asked one day, "of the Captain Wright whom your libellers accuse me of having strangled?"

"Yes, Sire," answered he, "and by my faith, I should be curious to know from you how the poor devil killed himself, for I never believed that you had had him hung without reason."

"Well, I will tell you," answered the Emperor. "Captain Wright commanded the brig which, during four months, had been landing on the steep shores of Béville, the accomplices of Georges, Coster, St. Victor Lahage, and St. Hilaire, who had already figured in the plot of the infernal machine. They concealed themselves by day in farms or country houses, forming stations between Paris and the coast; they had a great deal of money, paid largely, and easily corrupted poor peasants; one named Mekée de la Fouche, whom your ministers paid to favour conspiracies, but who had sold himself to my police, gave the first information concerning these disembarkments, and the secret object of the cruise of Captain Wright's brig.

"I was weary of all these intrigues, and resolved to put an end to them. I ordered the records of the police to be brought: one evening, when I was turning them over, I remarked, I know not why, the name

of a young man, named Guéral, calling himself a student of medicine; I ordered him to be immediately brought before a council of war, to be watched with care, and notice to be taken of all his words. My foresight was just; he confessed everything after his condemnation to death, and, in order to gain his pardon, detailed all the smallest particulars of the plot.

"Savary received orders to proceed to the places indicated, accompanied by disguised *gens-d'armes*: he surprised a party, disembarking. At this same time, Captain Wright, a description of whom had been sent to all the different points of the coast, ventured to set his foot on land; he was immediately arrested, conducted to Paris, and imprisoned in the Temple.

"I might have had him included in the number of the accomplices of Georges, and have had him judged and condemned along with them; I did not do it; I would have kept him in prison till the peace, but grief and remorse overwhelmed him—he committed suicide; and you English ought to be less astonished than any other people at such an occurrence, because amongst you suicide is almost a national habit.

"Your ministers seized this opportunity to accuse me of a crime, as in the case of Pichegru, although they knew very well that Pichegru's presence before a criminal tribunal would have been a hundred times more advantageous to my cause than his death. But it mattered little to them to lie to their own consciences—it was one calumny more.

"Your ministers will not always be able to impose on the English people with respect to me: sooner or later your nation will render me justice, and the English will be the first to take my part, and avenge the savage hatred of their ministers.

"Notwithstanding all their libels, I fear nothing for my renown; posterity will render me justice: it will compare the good which I have done with the faults which I have committed; I do not fear the result. If I had succeeded, I should die with the reputation of being the greatest man who ever existed; from being nothing, I became, by my own exertions, the most powerful monarch of the universe, without committing any crimes. If crime had been in accordance with my opinions, neither Louis XVIII. nor Ferdinand would now reign: many times have their heads been offered to me for a price, and their death has been daily put forward to me as advisable. I refused; I do not regret it. My ambition was great, I confess it, but it *rested* on the opinion of the masses; I have always thought that sovereignty resides in the people; the empire, as I had organized it, was but a great republic. Called to the throne by the voice of the people, my maxim has always been, '*a career open to talent*, without distinction of birth;' and it is for this system of equality that the European oligarchy detests me. And yet, in England, talent and great services raise a man to the highest rank—you should have understood me."

The Englishmen listened with all their ears, and

the expression of their countenances showed the effect produced upon them. We were all really sorry when the Emperor abruptly ceased speaking, rose from table, and went up on the deck to take his usual after-dinner walk. The first person he saw there was the clergyman—a kind of original, whom the young people amused themselves by turning into ridicule: the Emperor sent for him—spoke of religion to him, and placing him thus on the field of his true worth, found some pleasure in changing his questions into a regular controversy. From that day forward no one ventured to ridicule the poor man; the Emperor had raised him in the eyes of all, and thenceforth his theological knowledge compensated for the absurdity of his face and manners.

A negro in the sea, and the taking of a shark,* were the only two events which broke the monotony of the voyage from this day till the 15th of October, when, during dinner-time, the look-out announced St. Helena.

In sitting down to table, the Admiral had said to the Emperor, "This evening you will see land."

* This was the beginning of the Emperor's working on his memoirs; a work which was commenced on the 9th September, on which day he caused the siege of Toulon to be written, from his dictation, by Count Las Cases. The day after, he dictated to myself the 13th Vendémiaire, and on the 28th October following, he dictated to Bertrand the first chapter of the campaign of Egypt.

CHAPTER VI.

SAINT HELENA.

On the 16th of October, 1815, the Northumberland cast anchor in the roadstead of St. Helena, at a short distance from the village which the pride of the islanders has called James Town.

On the 17th, the Emperor disembarked—sad anniversary of a sad day! Two years before, and almost at the same hour that Napoleon set foot on the land of his exile, France had lost the battle of Leipzig.

The house of M. Poitevin had been got ready in haste, under the directions of the Admiral and the Grand Marshal, to receive us for a time. It is agreeably situated at the entrance of James Town. Two pretty but very small rooms on the first floor, composed the lodging of the Emperor. We immediately caused his iron bedstead to be conveyed thither, and in a very short time after his arrival he was settled

as he had been on board ship, making use only of articles belonging to himself. We established ourselves in various parts of the house, as we best could, thinking only of the pleasure of being once more on shore, and of being together *en famille*. All the English had left us.

The island of St. Helena is 2,000 leagues from Europe; 900 leagues from any continent, and 1,200 leagues from the Cape of Good Hope. It is a volcanic formation, in the midst of the Atlantic, 15° 55′ S. lat., and 5° 46 W. long. Its peak, called Diana's Peak, raises its dark summit to a height of 3,000 feet above the level of the sea, and is seen at a distance of sixty miles. The soil of the island consists of lava, cooled at different degrees of fusion, and ploughed up with deep ravines. A fruitful mould is only to be found in places where it has been carried by the hands of men, with the exception, perhaps, of a few valleys; some small portions of wood crown the lower summits of Diana's Peak; everywhere else, what appears from a distance to be wood, is merely a sort of wild broom, imported from Ireland by an Irishman who wished to make use of it as firewood, and sown on a farm which he endeavoured, without success, to establish at Longwood. In a few years this plant covered all the sides of the ravines round about. The East India Company has also made some useless attempts on the plain of Longwood: we, at least, have found no mark of cultivation to be compared to that of the worst farm in Poland.

Everywhere that the lava and the scoria have not been left bare—this is a greyish matter, somewhat similar in colour to potter's clay, and has in some places acquired sufficient consistency to be used instead of soft stones in the building of houses—it can be cut with a knife like chalk. It does not resist the drippings of water; the moisture of the soil destroys it in a few years, if care is not taken to enclose it in hard lava, or in stone brought from Europe, or from the Cape of Good Hope. All the stone for the construction of the Emperor's house was sent from England.

We have been assured that the first navigators who landed at St. Helena found nothing there but pheasants and goats. I have nothing to say against these two species of animals: I think, however, that, in the number of the natives of the island, rats have been forgotten, for St. Helena is covered with them; and their number was so great at Longwood when we came to live there, that they frequently came running under our table whilst we were at dinner, and walked about in our rooms without appearing at all disturbed by our presence. We were never able to destroy them entirely, though we waged a deadly war with them during more than five years. Their presence was, besides, not always inoffensive. General Bertrand was bitten rather severely in his hand during his sleep; a maid-servant was also bitten by them, as well as one of the horses sent from the Cape for the Emperor's use.

St. Helena is twenty-one miles in circumference, and is only to be approached at three points: the valley, at the mouth of which James Town is built; Linion Valley, and Sandy Bay: these two last points, however, do not afford good anchorage. The roadstead of James Town is, on the other hand, safe and easy of access; the largest vessels can ride at anchor there; and as a protection against the sea, natural walls of lava are formed on all sides, from the upper level to the bottom of the sea; which gives St. Helena from some distance the appearance of a shapeless mass of black rock, surmounted by a regular cone. The nearer one approaches, the more frightful does it appear. The valley of James Town seemed to me like the entrance into Tartarus. On whatever side you look, and at whatever height, nothing is seen but ranges of black walls, as if constructed by the hand of man to connect the points of the peaked rocks: no trace of vegetation—nothing, in fact, which announces the presence of man; a wall and a vaulted entrance conceal the town. Undoubtedly, when once on shore, the feeling of happiness overpowers this first sensation; for then the pretty street of James Town, its fine houses, and its botanic garden, have acquired a still greater value in our eyes.

At the time of our arrival in St. Helena, it contained only five hundred white inhabitants, including the garrison, consisting of a battalion of infantry of a hundred and sixty men, and a company of artillery in the East India Company's service. The number of

slaves was about three hundred. In 1821, the population consisted of about eight hundred whites, three hundred negroes, and one thousand eight hundred Chinese, or Lascars, including in this number nine hundred Chinese imported for the special service of Longwood. The garrison was composed of the battalion of infantry and the company of artillery, and of two regiments of the line, a troop of dragoons, a detachment of sappers and miners, or pioneers, and a company of the Royal artillery; besides eleven vessels of war, having on board a number of soldiers and marines. The expenses which the guarding and supporting of the Emperor caused the English government, amounted to eight millions of francs a year, without counting the extra expenses rendered necessary by the wants of a garrison so disproportioned to the resources of the soil. A single example will suffice to prove how insufficient these resources were. The garrison received rations for more than a year, precisely as if on board ship, and the quantity of water allowed for our consumption at Longwood was regulated with so much parsimony, that the Emperor was obliged to give up taking a bath every day until Sir Hudson Lowe had succeeded in causing to be constructed on Diana's Peak a gigantic cistern, after the model of that at Gibraltar, in order, during the rainy season, to collect a sufficient quantity of water for the consumption of the inhabitants of Longwood.

We were assured that this reservoir had cost an

enormous sum of money. At any rate, it was of great use, and has completely changed the condition of the island. A fleet can now lay in a supply of water at St. Helena; before the works undertaken by Sir Hudson Lowe, this could only be done by isolated vessels, and even then with the loss of a great deal of time. The same is the case with regard to facilities of communication. At that time there was only one carriage road—that from Plantation-house into the town—and even that was far too steep: now, the island is intersected in every direction by good and broad roads. It is true that at the time of our arrival in the island, carriages were almost unknown. There was only one, belonging to the governor, and it was drawn by oxen. We left behind us at Longwood two calêches, and if all the carriages which, during part of our residence there, were to be met with upon the roads leading to Plantation House, to Longwood, and to the outworks, are still in the island, there are certainly more than twenty in all.

In the whole of the habitable part of the soil of St. Helena, I only know five agreeable sites: Plantation House, a country house appropriated to the governor; Rosemary Hall, the residence of Colonel Smith, of the Artillery; Mr. Darton's cottage, at Sandy Bay; Mr. Balcombe's house, at the Briars; and finally, Miss Masson's cottage, situated on the opposite side of the ravine which formed our northern boundary at Longwood. They are mentioned in a work on

St. Helena, by a person in the employment of the government.

"Plantation House is an extremely elegant habitation—agreeably situated and surrounded by large gardens and well cultivated grounds. They are tilled in the same manner as in England, and are kept with the greatest care. The gardens are adorned with different sorts of magnificent trees and shrubs, brought from Europe, Asia, Africa, and America: they are all from the most remote parts of the world, and from climates as different as possible from that of St. Helena, and yet these plants grow well and flourish there. The reason is, that Plantation House is sheltered by Diana's Peak and Halley's Mountain, which divide the island into two parts, and protect this delightful residence from the south-easterly winds, which burn up and kill all vegetation in those parts of the island exposed to their effects."

An author, the dean of the Colonial Council, says, p. 255:

"Governor Dunbar was indefatigable in his efforts to study the resources and fertility of the island. The experiments which he made at Longwood in the cultivation of oats, barley, and wheat, gave rise to some hope of success, and a farm-house and stable were built there; but all the crops having failed, one after the other, these buildings were abandoned, and no further attempts at cultivation were made in that quarter. It was seen that the want of success was to

be attributed to the climate of this part of the island, which is exposed to all the hurtful influence of the south-easterly wind, and to the soil, which is burnt up by wind; and not, as some persons have asserted, to the innumerable quantity of rats found at Longwood, which it was found impossible entirely to destroy."

The climate of St. Helena is in general unhealthy: it offers, however, agreeable impressions to the European, who after having been confined several months on board ship, and having suffered many privations, profits by the few days allowed him at this island, to land, and to enjoy a dinner of fresh meat, green vegetables and fruit.

The crews of the squadrons lost a great number of men: two brigs, the Mosquito and the Racoon, lost eighty-four men out of 200. The admiral's vessel, the Conquérant, was obliged to put to sea, in order to arrest the mortality which was decimating its crew. Another vessel, the Friendship, lost 120 within a short time after its arrival.

Another incontrovertible proof of the insalubrity of the climate of St. Helena, is, that there is no instance of a native or a slave having reached the age of sixty years. Dysentery and hepatitis rage during six months of the year, with a violence greater that what occurs in India.

This was the residence destined by the sovereigns of Europe, for one whom they had for ten years called their brother. It is clear that it yielded in no respect

to the celebrated room in Vincennes, where Cardinal de Retz was buried, where Puy Laurent, Ornano, and the Grand Prior of Vendome died, and which, according to Madame de Rambouillet's opinion, was worth its weight of arsenic.

The day after his arrival, at eight o'clock in the morning, the Emperor mounted his horse, in company with the grand marshal and Sir George Cockburn, to take a view of the island; but he was only conducted to Longwood, and care was taken that he should not see Plantation House and its beautiful productions. He only saw that part of the island, which was burnt up by the south-easterly winds, Longwood and its wood of gum trees, called Dead Wood by the colonists. He took no interest in all that the admiral said to him concerning the works which he was planning, to render habitable the sheds, which had till then only served as a depôt for the East India Company, if we except an old stone building, in which the deputy-governor, Lieutenant-Colonel Skelton, had contrived to make a sort of lodging.

The only advantage which we enjoyed at Longwood, was a vast plain of a mile and a half radius, upon which one might take an airing on horseback, or in a carriage, without running the risk of being precipitated into a ravine by the slightest slip or stumble of the horse. Plantation House, on the contrary, is really a delightful residence, surrounded by beautiful and extensive gardens. There the Emperor would have been comfortable; he might have walked at any

hour of the day under the magnificent trees in the park: at Longwood, on the contrary, he was worse off than the lowest officer in barracks in Europe.

A short time after his establishment there, a portion of the ceiling of his bed-room having given way in consequence of rottenness, a quantity of foul water entered at the breach, and forced him to seek refuge in another chamber. This building had served as a cowhouse for some fifty years, when Mr. Skelton conceived the idea of transforming it into a dwelling house for the season of the greatest heat.

The operations were carried on by negroes and sailors with a precipitation, which rendered any degree of care impossible.

They had contented themselves with carrying away the dung, and had constructed the flooring of fir, without changing the roof, by simply nailing boards on planks of fir placed upon the clayey soil of the cow-house. Everything was completely rotten.

As they were returning to James Town, the Emperor remarked a modest cottage, about a mile before arriving at the entrance of the valley. He expressed a desire to see it, and to remain there some time. This cottage was inhabited by the family of Mr. Balcombe. The family was highly gratified at the honour done to them—expressed their pleasure in a cordial and lively manner, and offered to put their whole establishment at the Emperor's disposal, in case it should suit his views to remain at Briars till Longwood should be ready to receive him. The Emperor

accepted this hospitable offer in part, and said that he would willingly lodge in a pavilion detached from the principal dwelling-house, on condition that no difference should be made in the habits of the family. The Admiral eagerly acquiesced in this arrangement; and the same evening the pavilion—that is to say, the single room which it contained on the ground-floor, received the furniture of Austerlitz.

Two bed-rooms, made of boards nailed together under the roof, served as a lodging for Count Las Cases and the valets-de-chambre. The best idea of this pavilion may, perhaps, be obtained by recalling the dimensions of a billiard-room in the neighbourhood of Paris. Great was our astonishment when the grand marshal, on his arrival, informed us that the Emperor had stopped to dine with the family of Balcombe, and intended remaining some time at Briars. Mr. Balcombe had two amiable daughters, Eliza Jane and Betsy. The latter especially, was a charming girl, and spoke French well; she was then about twelve or thirteen years old. This necessary separation was a great disappointment to the rest of us, but regrets were useless. The grand marshal informed Count Las Cases that he was expected to set off immediately for the Briars. Messrs. Marechaux and St. Denis were also sent thither.

The necessary furniture was then taken out to furnish the pavilion, and the Emperor slept there the same night.

As all the dinner-service had been left in the house

in town, the Emperor's dinner had to be carried from thence to Briars by slaves. The consequence was, as might be expected, the dinner was always cold. He said nothing for some days; either he did not remark it, or he considered it the effect of some discussion respecting a difficulty of arrangement. But, after suffering a week to pass in this manner, he inquired the cause, and was told that his kitchen served for the table of the grand marshal in the town, and that his own service was entirely additional. The same day, a negro of Mr. Balcombe's brought me the following note:

"COUNT MONTHOLON,—From this day forth you will take the service of the grand marshal.

"I inform him also of this arrangement, which is agreeable to his desire.

(Signed) "NAPOLEON."

Every day one of us went to pass the morning or the evening at Briars, and after the removal of his kitchen thither, he always kept us or invited us to dinner; so that a day never passed in which we had not all the honour of seeing him.

The Emperor passed his time at Briars just as on board the Northumberland.

He remained in his room till four or five o'clock, and sought to forget the hours in the recollections of his campaigns in Italy and Egypt.

M. de Las Cases, who acted as his secretary, wrote from his dictation, alternately with General Gourgaud

and myself; sometimes, also, the grand marshal, but the latter rarely, because this sort of labour was disagreeable to him, and because he got rid of it as soon as an opportunity offered. I believe, in fact, that he at last begged the Emperor to dispense with his services in that capacity, acknowledging that, after the high office he had formerly had the honour to discharge, his self-love would not suffer him to perform the duties of a secretary. I heard afterwards, however, that he had much regretted his conduct on that occasion.

General Bertrand was much attached to the Emperor, but he too often allowed himself to go to lengths which could not but wound the real affection which the Emperor felt for him. The reason was his extreme affection for his wife; a charming compound of all the seducing manners, and of all the caprices of a Creole. She wished her husband to be only the first of her slaves, and it was very difficult to resist her: General Bertrand could not. He felt himself, therefore, condemned to a perpetual struggle between his duties as grand marshal, and her commands, always agreeable, but not always in harmony with the office which he filled in the household of the Emperor. It is to this love, which may, with justice, be called idolatry, that we must attribute the madness of the letter written from Elba to Louis XVIII., the hesitation in the Elysée—finally, in 1828, his determination to take his children to Europe, and to leave, during his absence, the Emperor at St. Helena, retaining with

him only myself, out of the four who had accompanied him to Longwood.

General Bertrand possessed all the virtues of an honourable man, and no one had more right to the esteem of the world, and to the friendship of those who knew him; but he had not a firm enough will of his own. All the good that he did belongs entirely to himself; everything that may be blamed in his acting as a diplomatist, was the result of extraneous influence, which it was not in his nature to be able to resist.

I must mention, however, the wish entertained by the Admiral, Sir George Cockburn, to continue on shore the relations which had been necessarily formed during the long voyage from Start Bay to St. Helena.

Shortly after his establishment in the castle, a tolerably large house close to the ramparts of the citadel, which had served as a habitation for the governor of the island before the construction of Plantation House, he wished to present to the Emperor the principal persons in St. Helena, in the garrison and the squadron under his command, without, however, presenting them in an official manner; and he thought the best plan would be to give a very large dinner-party, and to invite the Emperor to honour it with his presence. He went to Briars, therefore, at the hour when he knew that the Emperor would be taking his customary walk in the evening, and begged him to do him the honour of dining with him at the castle. The Emperor, however, did not

accept the invitation for himself, but assured the admiral that we should all be present, even Count Las Cases, who lodged at Briars. A fortnight after, Sir George Cockburn gave a grand ball, to which the Emperor also refused to go, although he sent us all to the party.

The officers of the 53rd regiment had hopes of being more successful. They dispatched their colonel, Sir George Bingham, who had sailed with us on board the Northumberland, with the major of the regiment, and two officers who had undertaken the direction of the ball. The Emperor received them with great condescension, conversed a long time with them, expressed to them the pleasure which he always felt when amongst old soldiers as they were, but refused their invitation; he sent us there, however, as on the former occasion. It was the last time such a temptation occurred.

By one of those contradictions common enough in politics, although happily tolerably rare in our social relations, whilst on the one hand we were the objects of civility and attention from the society of the island, we heard every day of the adoption of some new measure of general surveillance,* the result of

* POLICE REGULATIONS RESPECTING THE HARBOUR OF ST. HELENA.

1.—The commanders of vessels belonging to the Honourable the East India Company, and the masters or commanders of every vessel permitted to anchor in the roadstead, are not permitted to land, or to permit any of their crew to disembark, until they have previously, agreeably to the terms of the present

which was to restrict the liberty which we had enjoyed since our landing; at one time, it was an officer, said to be a guard of honour, but in reality a spy, who had been placed in a barrack 100 metres from the pavilion of the Emperor; at another, a telegraphic signal, by means of which, everything that went on at Briars was immediately reported in the town; at another time, sergeants were given to us to serve as guides; in a word, we were so well attended to, that we could not proceed a step without being accompanied by a pretended guide, and the Emperor never set his foot out of his room, without the admiral being informed of all his motions. This state of things could have no other termination than

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ordinance, sent a list on shore to the governor, in order that he may indicate what persons are to be allowed to come on shore.

2.—In the first place, every commander of a vessel of war or of a merchant vessel is required to declare positively whether there has been any illness on board in the course of the voyage, whether it has been contagious or not, whether there have been any deaths on board during that time, and if so, from what cause or causes.

3.—All letters and parcels, whoever may be the persons to whom they are addressed residing in the island, with the exception of those which come by the regular mails or by post, are to be handed over to the officer, who will communicate to each vessel this ordinance, and will be deposited by him in the government office, where the persons to whom they are addressed, will have to claim them.

4.—In case the commander, any one of the passengers, or any one else on board should have any letter or parcel in his charge, addressed to any stranger then in the island, such persons are requested to transmit such letter or packet under cover to

that of totally altering our relation to the admiral, whatever pains he took to disguise the marks of the *surveillance*, which he caused to be carried on. At last, Count Las Cases received directions to address a note to the admiral, protesting against measures which the situation of St. Helena rendered uselessly harassing, and the grand marshal was commissioned to convey it to the admiral, and to discuss its contents with him.

But, whether it was that he did not entirely coincide with the opinion of the compiler of the note, or from some other reason, he did not wish to deliver it, and did not fulfil his mission; a fortnight passed before the Emperor heard anything said about it, and it was

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the governor, and to wait for his orders, in case of the parcel being of trifling importance.

5.—The commander of the vessel alone, as soon as this ordinance has been read and made known on board the vessel, may land if he please; he is then, however, to proceed directly to the governor's residence, or in case he should not be in town, shall make known his arrival at the residence of his secretary or representative.

6.—The commander, the officers, or any passenger who shall afterwards be permitted to land, is immediately to proceed to the office of the secretary, to read and sign an agreement to observe the regulations of the island, before proceeding to his lodgings, or visiting any individual whatsoever.

7.—No passenger, or other person disembarking from any vessel touching at St. Helena, shall be allowed to go beyond James' Valley without special permission, to obtain which he is to apply at the office of the principal secretary of the governor.

8.—No individual, whoever he may be, having permission to land, must visit Longwood or the district belonging to it, nor

to his great astonishment that he learned from the mouth of the grand marshal, that nothing had been said or done. The Emperor's displeasure was visible, but he suppressed it, with some difficulty, through friendship for Bertrand, and said to him, "Your not delivering the note, if you were dissatisfied with its tenour, or if you regarded it as dictated by an impulse of anger, was a proof of your devotion to my interests, but this should only have been a delay of some hours. After this delay, you ought to have spoken to me on the subject; you well know that I should have listened to you with attention, and should have agreed with your opinions, if you had proved to me that you were in the right; but to delay a fortnight

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hold any communication, verbal or written, with the strangers detained in the isle, without directly acquainting the governor with his intentions on this point, and receiving a permission.

If any individual should receive any letter or packet from any of the strangers above mentioned, he is, without loss of time, to bring it to the governor, before replying to it. The same rule applies to all packets which might be received by them, or which they might endeavour to have delivered.

9.—The commanders of vessels from the East Indies, and the masters of merchant vessels of all kinds who may be permitted to anchor on the coast of the island, shall not permit *any person* to land without *permission*, without authority from the governor; none of the passengers shall sleep on land without informing him of their intention.

10.—No vessel belonging to the East India Company, no any merchant ship whatever, shall unlade between sunset and sunrise, nor at any time of the day, without the presence of an officer appointed for this purpose. If any vessel, from any motive, receives orders not to bring to, the before-mentioned vessel shall tack to keep at a certain distance from the port, in

without telling me that you had not executed the mission with which I charged you, is inexplicable: what have you to reply ?"

The Grand Marshal only answered by the respectful assurance, that he thought he had done well in not delivering the note, which he disliked, both as to its composition and its intention.

The Emperor replied: "You are perhaps right, Bertrand; they have condemned us—this is the anguish of death! They unceasingly join outrage to injustice—what useless vexations! If I was so annoying to them, why did they not kill me? A ball through my heart or my head would have sufficed, and there would at least be some courage in this crime.

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order that other vessels may unlade without interruption; the greatest care is to be taken that the vessels lading or unlading merchandise, do not hinder the others in their movements.

11.—All boats belonging to the East India Company, or to merchant vessels of any kind, shall quit the island at sunset, and return immediately to their respective vessels, except in circumstances which the admiral will regulate.

12.—No boat belonging to a vessel of the company, or to any other vessel, shall board, or send a boat to any other vessel arriving in the port; no boat is to land anywhere but in the port.

13.—No vessel belonging to the company, nor merchant-ship whatever, shall cast anchor before the island between sunset and sunrise, nor set sail after sunset, nor before three o'clock in the morning. They are not to set sail till the flag of farewell has been hoisted on each vessel or ship.

14.—If the flag of farewell has been hoisted on a ship a short time before sunset, and that the said ship does not immediately heave anchor, it cannot set sail till the signal has been repeated next morning at ten o'clock.

15.—Every commander of a vessel or merchant-ship is ex-

"How can the sovereigns of Europe be so short-sighted and so blinded by their passions, as to allow the character of sovereignty, of the anointed of the Lord, to be profaned in me?

"How is it that they do not see that they are preparing at St. Helena, with their own hands, the fate which awaits them, sooner or later, if they urge too far the patience of nations. I entered their capitals as a conqueror; what would have become of them, if I had brought thither the sentiments which they now express?

"They all called me their brother, and I was so by the choice of the French people, the sanction of a hundred victories, the consecration of the Vicar of

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pressly forbidden to permit any merchant-ship or fishing vessel to lie alongside his vessel, without a permission, signed by the governor; or to suffer any boat belonging to his vessel to approach the numbered barks of the island, or to hold any communication with them.

16.—If any fishing vessel shall seek to communicate with any vessel lying with its head towards the island, and already at anchor, or communicates with any boat belonging to this vessel, the commander and officers of the said vessel are required immediately to make it known, by a flag, to the deputies of the adjutant-general, to take the number of the vessel, and to detain it according to circumstances.

17.—The commanders of vessels carrying *newspapers which may contain news worthy of interest, are required to deliver them to the person by whom these instructions will be read to them, for the information of the governor, who will have them carefully returned.*

18.—It is forbidden to land gun-powder, without having previously informed the commissioner of magazines, and the master-intendant (an officer employed among naval forces), in order

Jesus Christ, and the alliances of their policy, and of their own blood."

After some moments of profound silence, he continued:

"You are right, Bertrand, let these gentlemen make their complaints; mine are below my dignity and my character; I command or I am silent."

And the Emperor spoke no more of the note, but a week after, M. de Las Cases secretly delivered it to one of the officers of the brig Redpol, which the admiral was about to send to England.

NOTE.

By the return of the next ship the Emperor is desirous of receiving news of his wife and his son—of

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that all necessary precautions may be taken to prevent accidents.

19.—No stallion or gelding shall be landed without a permission from the secretary of the government.

20.—No wine of any kind shall be landed, without a permission from the secretary of the government.

21. The honourable council of directors having forbidden the importation of spirituous liquors coming from the Indies, it is ordained, that any one transgressing this prohibition shall pay a fine of £100 sterling. Brandy, hydromel, East Indian rum, cordials, &c., can, in the same manner, only be landed in very small quantity, after having obtained permission and paid the toll, at the rate of one shilling per gallon. The landing of spirituous liquors, in whatever quantity, without permission, will subject the offender to the above-mentioned penalty.

22.—Whaling vessels shall not throw out their harpoons, as long as they are in the latitude of the island, under pain of fifty francs fine; the half of this sum to be given to the person who shall inform against them.

23. Every commander of a vessel, or master of a merchant

knowing whether the latter is still alive—and protests anew against the extraordinary measures which have been adopted against him by the British government.

1st. The British government has declared him a prisoner of war. The Emperor is not a prisoner of war. His letter, written to the Prince Regent, and communicated to Captain Maitland, before going on board the Bellerophon, sufficiently proves to the whole world the nature of his feelings, and his confidence in the treatment which he would receive under the protection of the English flag.

The Emperor need not have departed from France without making stipulations concerning his personal

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ship, shall announce his intention of departure forty-eight hours before the time, provided he is prepared, at the same time, to lie longer in the roads. This notice must be given in writing, to the secretary of the government and to the master-intendant, between ten o'clock in the morning and two in the afternoon. The fore-top sail must also be detached forty-eight hours before the departure of the vessel. No commander of a vessel or merchant ship shall, under any pretext whatever, leave any one in the island, or take away any one, without having in writing demanded permission from the governor.

24. No commander, passenger, or other person on board the honourable company's vessels, or any others which may have cast anchor before the island, shall take charge of letters or packets for Europe, the Cape of Good Hope, South America, or any other place, except such as come to him from the post, or those consigned to him by the secretary of the government or the adjutant-general.

The commander of the vessel or merchant ship will sign the report, the form of which is here indicated, and will deliver it to the officer who brings him the present instructions.

safety and treatment, but he disdained to mix up matters of personal interest with those great national interests with which his mind was constantly occupied. He could have placed himself at the disposal of his father-in-law, the Emperor Francis; but from the confidence which he has always felt in the English nation, he wished for no other protection than that of Great Britain; and having renounced all public affairs, he wished to settle in no other country than one governed by fixed laws, independent of individual will.

2ndly. Had the Emperor been a prisoner of war, the rights of civilized nations with regard to prisoners of war are limited by the general rights of man, and besides, do not extend beyond the duration of the war itself.

3rdly. The English government, considering the Emperor as a prisoner of war, its rights were then limited by the law of nations, and as there was no cartel between the two countries in the existing war, it could adopt, respecting him, the principle of uncivilized people, who put their prisoners to death. This policy would have been more humane and more conformable to justice, than that of transporting him to a dreadful and barren rock. He could have been put to death on board the Bellerophon in Plymouth roads, which would have been, by comparison, an act of benevolence.

We have traversed those countries in Europe least favoured by Providence, and none of them can be compared with this barren rock, destitute of everything

which can render life supportable, and only calculated every moment to renew the agonies of death. The principles of Christian morality and the great duty imposed upon man of following its doctrines, whatever they may be, can alone prevent him from putting an end to such a horrible existence; the Emperor regards it as his glory to live in obedience to these principles; but should the British government persist in the present course of injustice towards him, he would regard it as a blessing to be put to death.

Among the number of slaves employed by Mr. Balcombe, there was an old Malay, who had been carried off from his country many years ago by an English captain, who probably required his services to replace those of a sailor, dead or fallen sick, and who availed himself of the opportunity of meeting with a boat belonging to Malay fishermen to get a slave without purchase. This transaction, however, would have proved dangerous in England; in spite, therefore, of his legal protest, he sold him as a slave during his stay at St. Helena.

The history of the poor man interested every one except his owner, who praised him merely for performing the severest labours, so as to enhance his value. The eldest daughter of Mr. Balcombe seeing him one day carrying a heavy burthen from the town, having learned the story of his misfortune, and the bitter grief he felt at being separated from his children, conceived

the idea of obtaining his liberty and sending him back to his home.

This was very difficult to accomplish; but that which the young and beautiful wish, they generally succeed in effecting. Her father promised, and began by paying the old Malay by the year, and imposing upon him no other labour than that of taking care of a small garden. The Emperor frequently finished his evening in the drawing-room of Mr. Balcombe's cottage, either taking part in a game of whist, or listening to Creole anecdotes from the two sisters, who emulated each other in their efforts to be agreeable to their host.

The younger of the two, who was very pretty, and even more mischievous than beautiful, felt that she could do anything and say anything with impunity, and had all the boldness of a spoiled child. She took advantage of a happy opportunity to ask the Emperor to buy the Malay, and, after her own fashion, related to him one evening the history of her protegé.

"I won't love my father because he doesn't keep his promise, but I will love you well, if you restore Toby to his poor children: do you know that he has a girl just of my age, who is very like me!"

To give Napoleon an opportunity of making any one happy was to do him a pleasure; he therefore eagerly seized upon the occasion of securing the proffered love of pretty Betsy Balcombe, and assured her that next day he would give orders to purchase the slave, and request the Admiral to send him back

to India by the first opportunity. But then the purchase was not in the power of the Emperor: it was not sufficient to pay the sum demanded by the master of the slave. In order to emancipate a slave, it was necessary to go through a long series of formalities, and our departure from Briars to Longwood surprised us before these formalities could be finished.

It was on the 28th of November, during his stay at Briars, that the Emperor laid aside his regimentals of *chasseur of the guard*, and put on a civil coat, preserving however the cross and cordon of the *Legion d'honneur*, his waistcoat, and his regimental white kerseymere breeches, shoes with buckles, and the cocked hat which is now become historical.

CHAPTER VII.

LONGWOOD.

LONGWOOD is situated on a barren *plateau*, 1800 feet above the level of the sea. Two-thirds are covered with gum trees (*conyta gommifera*) incessantly beaten and buffeted by the violent trade winds, which have bent them all in one direction at an angle of about 45°, and despoiled them of their miserable pale foliage, which nature has placed wholly at the extremities of the branches, and which is, therefore, completely useless as a shade against the burning rays of a tropical sun. In truth, there is no other shade in the whole of Longwood, except that thrown upon the ground by the decrepit trunks of some old trees. The climate is always too warm or too moist, and the variations in the atmosphere are such as to produce dysenteries, which during our stay committed fearful ravages in the camps of the 56th and 66th

regiments, which furnished every night thirty-five sentinels to be posted round our habitation. This service besides was completely useless, inasmuch as vessels of war were employed in continually cruising around the island, which is only accessible at James Town.

Longwood was uninhabitable when it was selected as a residence for the Emperor and the great number of persons who must necessarily be provided with accommodations near him, as well for the purpose of attending upon him, as to form his guard. An old cowhouse built of stone, and converted into five chambers, by a lieutenant-governor, in the service of the East-India Company; a barn made into a kitchen, wash-house, and fowl-house for a small household, and finally a bad stable, with indifferent accommodation for three or four horses, formed the whole of the establishment.

In the whole of these buildings the deal boards were placed upon the ground, and the foundation of the walls consisted merely of a species of porous lava, which rendered the humidity insupportable in the rainy season.

It is well known, that under the tropics, these rains at particular seasons cause a complete inundation for several weeks.

The old cow-house was an oblong building, 69 feet long by 30 feet deep, having in its centre, towards the south, and in a sloping direction, a structure 20 feet long by 15 broad, which terminated in a verandah

of green trellis-work. This contained an outlet to the terrace, all of which formed a basement of sufficient dimensions, but completely level with the ground, and into which there was an entrance at the north-side by a chamber marked A, 17 feet long by 18 feet broad, lighted by a glass door towards the south. The entrance was at the left angle, opposite the door leading into the apartment E, built in a sloping direction, with the chimney in the middle of the north wall.

The apartment E was a long chamber, 18 feet by 15, which was used as a drawing-room, lighted by three windows towards the east, and two small windows, consisting of one pane of glass each on the right, at the left of the door leading to the verandah; and in the middle of the right side of the drawing-room, there was a fire-place.

To the left of the entrance hall there were two small chambers, B and C, 12 feet by 15, situated one directly beyond the other, each with two windows looking upon the little garden G, formed by the square space between the room E, at right angles, and the length of the two chambers B and C. The two other sides of the square were formed by a light trellis. It was planted with some dwarf peach-trees and gooseberries; had four broad borders for vegetables and a coffee-tree; in the centre there was a corridor, 5 feet wide, and which formed the bath-room C. The antechamber of the interior B, was situated behind these two chambers, and stretched towards the entrance of the building by a species of porch, open at the side A.

At the right of the entrance hall, there was a single room D, 18 feet by 17 feet, lighted by three windows, and having a corridor behind, like that of the chambers to the left, which was transformed into a sort of pantry yard for the service of the table.

The whole upper part of the building was occupied by a granary, to which the access was by a ladder.

The whole of the apartments in the building were 9 feet high, with the exception of the drawing-room, which was 11.

The admiral caused an apartment, 24 feet by 17, made of pine wood, to be constructed, en suite with the drawing-room. This room was lighted by five windows, three looking towards the little garden G, which was extended to the extremity of this new building, and two on the opposite side, to the right and left of the fire-place. The verandah was also extended the whole length of the new building, and a tier of three steps to descend into the level of the garden.

The description of porch at the entrance A was closed, and joined to the building used as a kitchen, by a passage L of light construction, which contained a box staircase, precisely like a companion ladder, to conduct to four small chambers, constructed with slight partitions on the first floor, as sleeping rooms for the *valets-de-chambre;* and against the back of the passage, there was erected a wooden building, H, 15 feet square and 7 high, and papered to serve as a dining-room for the Emperor's servants.

The building appropriated for domestic purposes contained in the basement the kitchen R, the wash-house L, and the laundry P, with four servants' chambers above.

In the corner O, there were two sheds M and N, the former of which was used as a fowl-house, and the latter, which had no original destination, was used as a place for cleaning knives and plate.

The walls of the two chambers C and B, were covered with nankeen, bordered with garlands of red flowers in paper. A flowered carpet, with a green ground, concealed the deal boards, which had mouldered to dust, and finally a fire-place was built in the room C, the white painted chimney-piece of which supported a glass 18 inches by 10. Muslin window curtains, an arm-chair with a cane bottom, another of beech painted green, two chairs of the same wood, two rose-wood tables, one between the windows and another between the fire-place and the window, completed the furniture of the apartment. The chamber B, which likewise contained an arm-chair, and two common chairs, was in all respects like the other, except the fire-place. Two candlesticks, or rather metal sconces, completed the furniture of C and B, appropriated to the Emperor by the English government. But we shall add to this the usual furniture of his tent, which was carried along with the army on two mules.

The ante-chamber A, which was used as a dining room, remained as it had been in the time of Lieutenant-colonel Skelton. The walls were painted of a

light blue; the floor covered with a crimson carpet; it contained twelve chairs, a dining-table, and large sideboard, which was placed between the door opposite to that which led to the Emperor's apartments, and the wall at the end of the apartment.

The window was in fact a glass door, opening into the garden, and was without curtains, which would have prevented it from being opened.

The drawing-room was decorated with Chinese yellow paper, and hastily furnished for the occasion with two sofas, two folding tables, two arm and eight common chairs—old worm-eaten second hand furniture —with cane bottoms and cushions covered with black horse-hair. White muslin curtains were put on the windows. The furniture for this room and that built en suite with the drawing room, were sent for to England. The island contained none of which the Admiral could dispose, and as to the room to the right of the entrance chamber, it remained precisely as it was. Several buildings were in the course of construction, made of deal boards covered with tarred canvas, to serve for the accommodation of the generals and suite of the Emperor during their term of service, as well as for the officers in command of the guard.

Such was the condition of Longwood, on the 8th of December 1815, when Admiral Sir George Cockburn came to Briars to give an account of it to the Emperor, and to beg him to name the day when it would be agreeable to him to go to Longwood, in order to

explain personally the precise arrangements which he wished to establish; and, at the same time, assured him of his sense of the importance of his not being at Briars on the arrival of the governor expected from England.

The Emperor agreed to ride over to Longwood on the next morning, the 9th, and was accompanied only by the Grand Marshal and the Admiral.

He examined the works, which had been executed with an extraordinary degree of rapidity, and after having stated to Sir George Cockburn his feelings respecting the odious conduct of the English government towards him, he thanked him for the care which he had taken to preserve him from pernicious contact with the ground, on which his bed was about to replace the litter of the cattle belonging to a farmer of the East India Company; then suddenly returning to the details of the dwelling, he explained to him some changes which he wished to be made, expressing his desire that they might be executed before he came to live at Longwood. These changes consisted in opening a direct communication from his chamber to the passage which was to serve as a bath-room, a sofa in his bed-chamber, a window opening as a glass door into the preceding chamber, bells at his fire-place, bed and bath, in the drawing room, and in the new apartment, which he proposed to use as a topographical cabinet, and in which he requested four tables to be placed, a very large one in the centre to contain the maps, whilst he dictated the history of his wars. Then turning to

the Grand Marshal, he said, "You shall occupy the chamber to the right of the dining room—we shall both be badly off, but we shall be together." "No, sire," replied the Grand Marshal, without hesitation, influenced no doubt by a different view of the subject from that which had suggested the Emperor's friendly expression, "I shall take up my abode in the cottage, which I have observed at Hut's Gate. The Admiral consents to it, and my wife will be very well there, whilst I should be very ill off in this chamber."

"Do as you please," said the Emperor, interrupting him, "Montholon shall remain with me."

I may say with truth, that twice in a few months, the Grand Marshal pushed me, by his own fault, into the way of the Emperor's confidence and intimacy.

When General Gourgaud and Count Las Cases were informed of the arrangements for taking possession of Longwood, they eagerly solicited permission to sleep under their tents rather than to remain in the town apart from the Emperor, during the time which must necessarily elapse before the buildings then in course of preparation for their use, could be made habitable. The Emperor was deeply affected by this proof of generous devotedness; a tent was fitted under his windows for the accommodation of General Gourgaud, and the Admiral cheerfully caused an apartment for Count Las Cases to be fitted up in the building appropriated for the domestic offices.

The English officer in command at Longwood, and Dr. O'Meara, took up their abode in tents behind the

building appropriated for domestic offices, and out of view of the Emperor's apartments.

All being thus arranged, on the 11th of December the Emperor quitted Briars, and entered into possession of Longwood. On the next day, General Bertrand entered into his quarters at Hut's Gate—a little cottage on the brow of the hill which leads from the alarm house to Longwood, coming from James Town, and commands the Valley of the Tomb. The alarm-house is a battery placed at the upper gorge of the road, which ascends from the town in a continuous zig-zag to the summit, and, for two miles, forms as it were, a long bridge leading to the plateau of Longwood. The entrance is formed by a wooden fence contiguous to two lodges, like gardeners' houses, and which are occupied by a guard of honour of twenty-five Grenadiers. The crest or ridge, which is about twenty feet broad, is bordered by frightful ravines of scoriæ and lava, one of which probably owes the picturesque name of "the Devil's punch-bowl," by which it is known, to the dread which it inspires.

Eight saddle and four carriage horses, as well as a calèche, which Sir G. Cockburn had caused to be purchased at the Cape of Good Hope, were at Longwood for the use of the Emperor. In addition to these, were also a dozen sailors, chosen from amongst such men in the fleet as had been at any time servants or grooms. They were all dressed in green livery, according to the instructions of Cipriani, the *maitre-d'hotel*, and

Archembault, chief groom, as persons in the livery of their respective services.

The Emperor no sooner perceived this increase in the number of attendants, and learned from whence it was derived, than he said to General Gourgaud: "Come, Gourgaud, you shall be my grand steward—take the command of this service, and manage these jolly fellows in such a way as to prove to the Admiral that they know how to do their duty without the use of a rope's end." From the first day, the whole attendance was such as was usual on a journey in France.

A *valet-de-chambre* was always in waiting in the ante-chamber to the wooden apartment which led to the Emperor's rooms. Two footmen were stationed in the passage leading to the dining-room, where there was also a *valet-de-chambre* to wait in the drawing-room and the topographical cabinet, as soon as the Emperor was dressed; and, finally, the table service consisted of plate and porcelain brought from Paris.

The *maitre-d'hotel*, chief of the domestics, wore a green coat embroidered with silver, white waistcoat, black silk small-clothes, white silk stockings and shoes with buckles. The two *valets-de-chambre*, St. Denis and Noverras, were dressed after the same fashion, with the single difference of embroidery in gold. Besides these, there were six footmen in livery.

The *valets-de-chambre* alone waited on the Emperor, when he dined in private—that is, in one of the two small chambers, one of which served as a working-room

or study, and the other at the extremity, which had a fire-place, as his bed-chamber.

During the early period of our settlement at Longwood, dinner was served at seven o'clock, and breakfast at eleven; but the Emperor always breakfasted in his own room, and at his own hour. It had been agreed, that the Grand Marshal should come to Longwood every day to dinner, and it was not without some difficulty that the Admiral agreed to his crossing the line of sentinels who surrounded us, after six o'clock in the evening; but by an inexplicable fatality, after the second day, the Emperor waited till nearly nine o'clock for the arrival of Bertrand. A family riding party under the conduct of Captain Hamilton, of the Havannah frigate, had made him forget the dinner hour. Less than eight days afterwards a drive to the town to see or purchase some China silks and shawls, exposed for sale by a merchant-ship on her return from Canton, renewed the very natural feeling of disappointment at waiting in vain. From that day, this family dinner, which was to have been an every-day occurrence, was only to take place on Sundays. This was a matter of regret, as it was a first attempt at a family life which was very agreeable to us all.

The Emperor began to follow the practice of finishing the evening at table—not indeed in imitation of the English example, but at the dessert he sent for Racine, Corneille, or Molière, and selected some of the best pieces of those celebrated authors to read aloud. He said to us: "To what play shall we go

this evening? Shall we hear Talma or Fleury?" The reading continued till 10 or 11 o'clock, and when our family day was come to a close, he always took some one of us into his chamber, undressed, and worked or conversed, till he became disposed to sleep.

This state of things continued till the departure of Count Las Cases.

During the early part of our residence at Longwood, the Emperor did not dress till towards two o'clock; he then went into what he called his topographical cabinet with the one of us, who for the day was there engaged with him; at four, he caused us all to be summoned to the drawing-room, and in general went out in the calèche, to take two or three turns round the plateau of Longwood with Madame Montholon, or to go to Hut's Gate. General Gourgaud accompanied him on horseback. I never formed one in these drives.

The Emperor had perceived my disinclination, and twice or thrice alluded to it reproachfully, but with great kindness, and never spoke of it more. When passengers, on their way from India or China, requested the Grand Marshal to present them to the Emperor, or any of the inhabitants of the island came on a visit, they were received from two till four o'clock. Very often the Emperor kept them to dinner. Admiral Cockburn had many times that honour, as well as Sir George Bingham, Colonel of the 53rd, and the Captain of Grenadiers, whose wife was a descendant of Cromwell.

This kind of life, monotonous and melancholy though it was, without doubt was regarded with an evil eye by the malicious genius which at that time presided over the destiny of Napoleon; for Sir Hudson Lowe arrived, and with him all those outrages which were to kill the august victim delivered up to his ferocious hatred by the unchangeable rancour of the Holy Alliance.

CHAPTER VIII.

SIR HUDSON LOWE.

On the 14th of April, the frigate Phæton cast anchor in the roads of James Town, having on board Lieut.-Gen. Sir H. Lowe, his wife, and two daughters by a former marriage. The elder, then between twelve and thirteen, was married, during our stay at St. Helena, to Count Balmin, the Russian commissioner.

The Governor's staff was composed of Sir Thomas Reade, Deputy Adjutant-General; Major Gorriquer, of whose conduct we had always occasion to speak in terms of the highest praise; Lieut.-Col. Lyster, Inspector of Militia; a Major; a Lieutenant of the Engineers; and an Inspector-General of Hospitals, Doctor Baxter, a man of great merit, whose advice the Emperor at a later period refused, because he was recommended to him by Sir Hudson Lowe.

On the very same evening, without waiting to hear

any advice which Admiral Sir George Cockburn had to give him, Sir Hudson Lowe caused it to be announced at Longwood, that on the next morning, at nine o'clock, he would present himself there to see *General Bonaparte*.

"Let him come as soon as he pleases," said the Emperor to me; "I will receive him only when he asks to be received in a proper manner."

In reality, the next morning at nine o'clock precisely, Sir Hudson Lowe, attended by the whole of his staff, came at full gallop along the road to Longwood, and having alighted at the door of the Emperor's apartments, requested permission to enter.

Orders had been given before-hand to the footman and valets-de-chambre in waiting, to say that the Emperor was not yet up; on receiving this answer, he withdrew, and walked about, with long and hasty strides, under the windows, and around the house; then presenting himself, after the lapse of a considerable time, and having a second and a third time received the same answer, he resolved to go to the house of General Bertrand, to request him to announce his arrival in the island to the Emperor, and to ask when it would be agreeable to him (the latter) to receive him. The Emperor fixed the next day at two o'clock. Admiral Sir George Cockburn thought it his duty to present his successor, in consequence of which he accompanied him, and both presented themselves at Longwood precisely at two o'clock on the following day; they were introduced into the

house, by the verandah into the topographical cabinet, where, by the Emperor's orders, we had gone to receive them, and where, according to etiquette, the Grand Marshal was to come and conduct them to the Emperor's presence.

The Emperor having determined on receiving them in the drawing-room, a valet-de-chambre was placed at the door between the drawing-room and the topographical cabinet.

The eagerness of Sir Hudson Lowe deranged everything, and gave rise to a scene which was equally painful to the Admiral and to us. At the moment in which the Grand Marshal came to give notice to the valet that the Emperor was about to enter the drawing-room, Sir Hudson Lowe rushed to the door, and entered, before the valet, who had not well understood what had just been said to him, had time to consider; on the contrary, not doubting that the orders were to admit the governor alone, he shut the door immediately in the face of the Admiral, who, seeing Sir Hudson Lowe enter, was hastening to follow in order to present him. We were at the other end of the room, and the whole affair took place so rapidly that none of us perceived what had happened, till we saw Sir George Cockburn passing through our group like a man in a great passion, going out, and proceeding towards the saddle-horses, which the grooms kept at a short distance from the house.

The Emperor did not know this incident till the moment in which he was about to give an audience

to the Governor, when he caused the Admiral to be sent for. He was vexed at the conduct of the valet-de-chambre, and commissioned O'Meara to say so to Sir George Cockburn, and he even sent one of us down to the town to express his regret to the Admiral in person. These two measures were quite sufficient to efface all recollection of this involuntary insult.

The impression produced upon us by the appearance of Sir Hudson Lowe was different according to our different characters and modes of thinking, and perhaps also in proportion to the pains which he took to please us; but after the first day, the Emperor said to us: "That man is malevolent; whilst looking at me, his eye was like that of a hyæna taken in a trap; put no confidence in him; we complain of the Admiral—we shall perhaps regret him, for in truth, he has the heart of a soldier, whilst the general only wears the dress. His appearance and expression recall to my mind those of the Sbirri of Venice. Who knows! perhaps he will be my executioner. Let us not, however, be hasty in forming our judgments; his disposition may, after all, atone for his sinister appearance."

It required the whole of the Emperor's instinctive rapidity to receive this impression at the first sight of Sir Hudson Lowe.

In fact, Sir Hudson Lowe had something prepossessing in his appearance. At that time he was a man between forty and fifty years of age, above the middle size, with the cold and gracious smile of a

diplomatist; his hair was beginning to turn grey, but still preserved the primitive tints of light brown, although his long and lowering eyebrows were of a deep red. His look was penetrating, but he never looked honestly in the face of the person whom he addressed. He was not in the habit of sitting down, but swayed about whilst speaking with hesitation, and in short rapid sentences. It was undoubtedly his eye, which had something treacherous in it, that made an impression upon the Emperor.

Sir Hudson Lowe was a man of great ability, and had the extraordinary faculty of giving to all his actions such a colouring as suited the object which he proposed to effect. An excellent man of business, and of extreme probity. Amiable when he pleased, and knowing how to assume the most engaging form.

He might have acquired our gratitude, but he preferred the disgraceful reprobation which has followed him to the tomb. He was said to be a good father and a good husband. I know nothing of him in any relation, except in his connexion with Longwood, in which the whole of his conduct was marked with the stamp of an insatiable hatred—outrages and vexations completely useless as regarded the Emperor; and I should have said, with a profound conviction of its truth, that the death of the Emperor was his object, had he not said to me, on the 6th of May, 1821, with all the accent of truth—"His death is my ruin."

The ruling vice of Sir Hudson Lowe's character was an unceasing want of confidence—a true monomania.

He often rose in the middle of the night—leaped out of bed in haste, from dreaming of the Emperor's flight, —mounted his horse, and rode like a man demented to Longwood, to assure himself, by interrogating the officer on duty, that he was labouring under the effects of night-mare, and not of a providential instinct; and yet, notwithstanding this, the impression on his mind was so lively that he could never decide on leaving Longwood, till he received our word of honour that the Emperor was in his apartments. There was then almost an effusion of gratitude on his part, and he excused himself for having disturbed us in the middle of the night.

To relate this anecdote, is to give a complete character of Sir Hudson Lowe; it is to explain the whole bearing of his conduct during those years, in which he transformed the office of Governor of St. Helena into the functions of the gaoler, or, I might rather say, the executioner of Napoleon.

The governor's first act was the following communication, which he sent officially on the day after his presentation to the Emperor:

"Downing-street, January 10, 1816.

"It is my duty to inform you that it is the pleasure of his Royal Highness the Prince Regent, that on your arrival in St. Helena, you should communicate to all the persons in the suite of Napoleon, his domestic servants not excepted, that they are at liberty immediately to quit the island and return to

Europe. Adding, that none will be allowed to remain at St. Helena, except such as declare in writing, to be deposited in your hands, that it is their wish to remain on the island, and to submit to such restrictions as it may be necessary to impose upon Napoleon Bonaparte personally.

"Such of them as may wish to return to Europe, should be sent by the first favourable opportunity to the Cape of Good Hope. The governor of that colony will provide the necessary means for their return to Europe.

(Signed) "BATHURST."

The tenour of the declaration to be signed was unsuitable, and we obtained some modifications of the terms. In the evening I signed it, General Gourgaud and Count Las Cases did the same, and all the servants followed our example without hesitation.

General Bertrand alone refused. This refusal grieved the Emperor. The cause of it was precisely the same as ever—namely, his family affections. The Emperor said to me—"Bertrand is always the same. Although he constantly speaks of going, when the time comes, he will not have the courage to leave. One must be able to love one's friends with all their faults."

Moreover, this same opinion of the devoted attachment which he attributed to General Bertrand, was strongly exhibited when speaking of his condemnation to death for contumacy. It was then that the Emperor said to us—"In revolutions everything is forgotten;

the virtue of the evening becomes a crime on the morrow. The state of affairs being once changed, the bonds of gratitude, friendship, and kindred are all broken, and every person pursues his own interest. I think, however, that Bertrand owes his condemnation to the folly of having written to Louis XVIII., from the Island of Elba, through the instrumentality of the Duke of Fitzjames. At Porto Ferrajo, I was accustomed to hear the same song as I do now; always the same tune—'My mother, my children, I owe everything to them;' and, finally, when the moment arrives for departing, he remains. He could not have left me without tarnishing his reputation, unless, like Massena, he had gained the battle of Zurich. After all, if this continues for a long time, it may be he will depart; in him, as in the unfortunate Louis XVI., domestic virtues form the basis of his organization; however, I do not believe he will ever leave me."

When the Emperor asked each of us to explain our reason for signing the document, required by Sir Hudson Lowe, Las Cases and Gourgaud assigned as their motives of action, their devoted attachment to the Emperor's person. I ventured to reply, that I had been present at forty battles, but never gained one; but that every day I passed here in the society of his Majesty, I gained a triumph.

"I understand you," said the Emperor; "and should that be long, the English will have no other persons to keep except our two selves."

Eight months afterwards, Count Las Cases quitted St. Helena, and two years subsequent to that, General Gourgaud was in Europe.

When speaking of the fair inhabitants of Briars, we have related the request made by Betsy Balcombe to the Emperor; he had not forgotten it, and commissioned O'Meara to arrange that affair with Sir Hudson Lowe. Although he could not conceive that the circumstance could have any political aspect, the gloomy mind of Sir Hudson regarded it as one of the links in a chain of escape. Thus, in reply to the first overtures of O'Meara, he said, "You do not know the importance of what you ask; it is not Toby, whom General Bonaparte wishes to set at liberty in order to please Miss Balcombe. He wishes to obtain the gratitude of the negroes in the island. He wishes to do the same here as in St. Domingo. I would not do what you ask for anything in the world; but do not tell him so, however, but let him believe that I will submit his request to the council of the company."

The reasons of Sir Hudson Lowe's refusal, which, notwithstanding the governor's injunction, O'Meara repeated word for word to the Emperor, astonished him extremely. No one had as yet really given his ideas respecting the expedition to St. Domingo. All the pamphleteers and journalists who had spoken of that question, had wholly misunderstood it, and the opinion received by his enemies was the odious accusation of having decimated the army of the Rhine, by sending its bravest soldiers to St. Domingo for fear of their

remembrance of Moreau. "The truth is," said the Emperor to me, dictating a long note on the occasion, "that there were two courses for me to adopt, when the prosperous condition of the republic enabled me to turn my attention to St. Domingo, at that time a prey to all the dreadful calamities of civil war. The one was to clothe Toussaint l'Ouverture with the whole civil and military authority, and give him the name of governor, and to entrust the command to black generals; to consolidate and legalize the order established by Toussaint, which had been already attended with happy results, to compel the black farmers to pay a compensation to the former French proprietors, and to restrict the whole of the commerce to the capital by stationing numerous cruisers around the coasts. The second consisted in reconquering the colony by force of arms, bringing to France all those blacks who had been higher in rank than a colonel, disarming the blacks by assuring them of their civil liberty, and restoring all their property to the colonists. Each of these plans had its peculiar advantages and its inconveniences. The advantages of the former were obvious; the republic would possess an army of from 25 to 30,000 men, which would make all America tremble. This would be a new element of power, which would cost no sacrifice either in men or money. The former proprietors, it is true, would have lost the three-fourths of their fortune; French commerce, however, would have lost nothing, because France would always have enjoyed the executive privi-

lege. The second plan was more advantageous to the colonists, and more conformable to justice, but it required a war, which would call for great sacrifices both in men and money. The conflicting pretensions of the blacks, the men of colour, and the proprietors reinstated by force of arms, would be a continual source of embarrassment and disorder, and St. Domingo would be always upon a volcano. I had decided on the former; my policy counselled its adoption; the French flag would acquire a great development of power in the American waters, and a variety of expeditions might have been undertaken against Jamaica and all the Antilles, and against South America, with an army of 30,000 blacks trained and disciplined by French officers. I intended to have had inscribed on the colours of that army, "Brave blacks, remember that France alone recognises your liberty." For this purpose, however, it was necessary to have the frank and sincere co-operation of the chief men among the negroes; the children, brought up in our schools, and finding themselves in the enjoyment of the same rights and privileges as the whites, would have each year knitted more closely the bonds of union between St. Domingo and France; and it would thus ultimately have become one of our finest and most flourishing provinces. The pride of Toussaint l'Ouverture, or rather, the intrigues of the English government, soon changed the whole state of affairs. Vincent, a colonel of engineers, arrived in France as the bearer of a constitution which Toussaint had just proclaimed in St.

Domingo, and with a modification of independence, which he had the audacity to signify to the French government.

"From that moment the honour of France demanded a very different course of action; the republic had been insulted, for of all the means of proclaiming independence and raising the standard of rebellion, the black general had chosen the most insolent. There was no longer room for deliberation; the honour as well as the interest of France called for the annihilation of the negro chiefs, who, in my eyes, were nothing more than ungrateful Africans and rebels, with whom it was impossible to establish any system."

The selection of the barren plateau of Longwood, and the measures adopted respecting the Emperor's residence, had caused a complete change in political opinion in England. "Why," said even those who were friends of the ministry, "why not have established him at Plantation-house? The exercise of useless inhumanity is only to expose themselves to severe reproach." The ministers became alive to this feeling, and caused it to be announced in their newspapers, that a large wooden house was prepared for St. Helena, all the parts of which were put on board two store ships, and complete sets of furniture, embracing all the conveniences and luxury of a nobleman's establishment of the first rank in England.

On the 6th of May, the store-ship Adamant cast anchor in the roads of James Town, having on board the carpenter work, stone and furniture. This was a

most favourable occasion for Sir Hudson Lowe to make a communication to Longwood. He seized it with avidity, and requested to be received by the Emperor. The conversation was long and animated, and at length concluded with these words of the Emperor: "In short, sir, I wish for nothing from you; I have no request to make but one—leave me in peace. I complained of the Admiral, but I have always done him the justice to acknowledge that he had the heart of a soldier, and I had the fullest confidence in his honour. During the month in which you have been here, you have destroyed all my confidence in you. On hearing of your arrival, I congratulated myself in having henceforward to do with a general who had been employed on affairs of importance on the Continent, and would know how to adopt respecting me measures dictated by propriety. I have been incredibly deceived. You tell me, your instructions are more rigid than those given to the Admiral. Be it so—take courage, and execute them boldly; I am prepared to expect anything from your government; here I am, execute your orders. Are they to put me to death by the sword or by poison? I know not to what means you may resort to poison me, but as to putting me to the sword, you have proved that you have the means, by threatening the officer to have the door of my chamber broken open by violence, if he refused to open it to you. The brave 53rd know that they can only enter by passing over my dead

body. Dare to order them to exchange the glorious recollections inscribed upon their colours,* for the words, '*Assassination of Napoleon!*'

"You offer me, as you say, the whole interior of the island for my drives, but you know that the necessity of being accompanied by one of your officers, makes your offer an insult. When soldiers have received the baptism of fire, they are all the same in my eyes, whatever may be the colour of their uniform, and it is not the red coats of your officers which would make me importunate, but it is, that I shall never acknowledge, by any act of my life, that I am your prisoner, and consequently, I prefer confining myself to that small corner in which at least I may walk with freedom, to submitting to your good pleasure.

"The necessity of being accompanied by one of your officers is a useless and vexatious precaution; the security of my detention consists in the *surveillance* of your cruisers, and not in having an officer galloping in my train. All these measures, as you know, are absurd; but what you do not know is, that you cover yourself with disgrace by your conduct towards me, and that your children will blush at bearing the name you will leave them. Such will be the decree of posterity."

On going away from this audience, Sir Hudson

* The names of several battles won by the English army during the Spanish War were inscribed on the colours of the 53rd.

Lowe said, "General Bonaparte, as it appears, is not satisfied with having created an imaginary France, an imaginary Spain, and an imaginary Poland, as is proved by the excellent work of the Abbé de Pradt, which I have just been reading, but he wishes still further, to create an imaginary St. Helena."

Whether to distract his mind from all recollections of this discussion, or as the effect of one of those revulsions of his impressions which were habitual to him, the Emperor spoke to us of nothing, during the evening, but the Empress Josephine: "We lived together," said he, "like honest citizens in our mutual relations—and always retired together till 1805, a period in which political events obliged me to change my habits, and to add the labours of the night to those of the day. This regularity is the best guarantee for a good establishment; it ensures the respectability of the wife, the dependence of the husband, and maintains intimacy of feeling and good morals. If this is not the case, the smallest circumstances make people forget each other. A son by Josephine, would have rendered me happy, and have secured the reign of my dynasty. The French would have loved him very much better than the King of Rome, and I never would have put my foot on that abyss covered with flowers which was my ruin. Let no one, after this, think upon the wisdom of human combinations. Let no one venture to pronounce, before its close, on the happiness or misery of life! My poor Josephine had the instinct of the future, when she became terri-

fied at her sterility; she knew well that a marriage is only real when there is an offspring; and in proportion as fortune smiled, her anxiety increased. She built her hopes on my adoption of Eugene, and this was the cause of all the disagreements with my brothers. She never asked anything for her son, and, with a perfect tact, she never even thanked me for anything which I did for him, so much had she it at heart to convince me that Eugene's political fortune was not her own interest, but rather mine. I was the object of her deepest attachment, and I am so convinced of it," he added, smiling, "that I believe she would have left the rendezvous of love to come and find me. If I went into my carriage at midnight for a long journey, there, to my surprise, I found her seated before me and awaiting my arrival. If I attempted to dissuade her from accompanying me, she had so many good and affectionate reasons wherewith to oppose me, that it was almost always necessary to yield. In a word, she always proved to me a happy and affectionate wife, and I have therefore preserved the tenderest recollections of her."

Passing successively in review in his thoughts the members of his family, he said to us, that in the Hundred Days he had entertained the idea of making Corsica a kind of vice-royalty for his brother Lucien, under the title of governor-general; and he added, "Had Lucien been there when I abdicated, I should have preserved the sovereignty of Corsica. All the arms and hearts of the population would have been as

devoted to me as if they were my own family; and the disembarkation of 50,000 men would have proved a failure, had an attempt been made to carry me off. My presence in Corsica would have been a restraint upon the enemies of the French people, a protest in favour of all those interests which my reign created."

Lieutenant Colonel Skelton, who was returning to Europe, had pressed me strongly to take into my service a Lascar, who was an excellent valet-de-chambre, and from whom he parted with regret, and I had consented to it. The man was at Longwood, without Sir Hudson Lowe's knowledge—at least, he pretended so. As misfortune would have it—he saw him, on making one of his usual tours of inspection to know all that was going on. His rage was extreme. He took no time to reflect on the brutal impropriety of what he was about to do, and, without asking for any account from the officer on duty at Longwood, he dashed full gallop on the poor Lascar, and seizing him by the throat, as a policeman would grasp a thief, he ordered a dragoon belonging to his escort to conduct him as a prisoner to the town, to be there examined. None of the French had seen him—the English did not dare to inform me, and it was not till I was dressing for dinner, that, having sent to call my valet, in all directions, I was made acquainted with the scene which had been enacted by Sir Hudson Lowe.

The Emperor was offended; the man pleased him, and he wished him to wait at table; his Indian costume, his turban, his muslin tunic, embroidered with

gold, his cachemire shawl, the tout-ensemble recalled his recollections of the East. He ordered the Grand Marshal to write to Sir Hudson Lowe, who, on this occasion at least, was convinced that he was wrong, and excused himself on account of his ignorance of the true situation of the Lascar at Longwood; but he never restored him to me, for, foreseeing the issue of these explanations, he had taken care to send him on board ship two hours after his arrest.

CHAPTER IX.

TREATY OF THE 2ND OF AUGUST, 1815.

A COMMUNICATION of the very highest importance was made at this period, by Sir Hudson Lowe. This was the Convention signed at Paris, on the 2nd of August, 1815, by England, Austria, Russia, and Prussia, which was as follows:

"Napoleon Bonaparte being in the power of the allied Sovereigns, their majesties, the King of the United Kingdom of Great Britain and Ireland, the Emperor of Austria, the Emperor of Russia, and the King of Prussia, have determined, by virtue of the stipulations of the treaty of the 26th of March, 1815, on the measures best calculated to render it impossible for him by any new enterprise to disturb the peace of Europe.

"ART. 1. Napoleon Bonaparte is regarded by the Powers who have signed the treaty of the 26th of March last, as their prisoner.

"ART. 2. His safe keeping is entrusted to the British Government. The choice of the place and of

the measures best calculated to ensure the object of these stipulations, is reserved to his Britannic Majesty.

" ART. 3. The imperial courts of Austria and Russia, and the royal court of Prussia, shall appoint commissioners to reside in the place which his Britannic Majesty shall determine on as the residence of Napoleon Bonaparte, and who, without being responsible for his safe custody, shall assure themselves of his presence.

" ART. 4. His most Christian Majesty is invited, in the name of the four courts above named, in like manner to send a French commissioner to the place of Napoleon Bonaparte's detention.

" ART. 5. His Majesty the King of the United Kingdom of Great Britain and Ireland, binds himself to fulfil the engagements assigned to him by the present convention.

" ART. 6. The present convention shall be ratified, and the ratifications exchanged within a few days, or sooner if possible.

" In ratification of which the respective plenipotentiaries have affixed their hands and seals.

" Given at Paris, the 2nd of August, 1815.

(Signed) " PRINCE METTERNICH,
" ABERDEEN,
" PRINCE HARDENBERG,
" COUNT NESSELRODE.

" A true copy. HUDSON LOWE,
" Governor of the Island of St. Helena, and
Commissioner of his Britannic Majesty."

The reading of this convention made but little impression on the Emperor—however, he said to us, "If the people, whose interests have been conquered at Waterloo, submit to the iron yoke imposed upon them by the congress of Vienna, we shall not be worth the money which it will cost England to keep us here, and English interests will require them to get rid of us. The expenses of my captivity will certainly exceed 10,000,000 francs per annum. But, after all, what signify ten millions to England? Besides, it is not probable that this may take place before many years, for it will be only while the slumber of the nations is profound that the security of their sovereigns will lead them to calculate the inutility of the expense. We have another chance of escape: perhaps, by a course of adverse events, the sovereigns may be forced to acknowledge the error which they have committed in dethroning me, and may call me to their aid in the immense struggle of the past against the French revolution. I should be the natural mediator, because the empire which I created was at once favourable to the cause of kings, and to that of nations. It has not been the will of fate that my work should finish by effecting the social reorganization of Europe; it has conducted me hither, and the mystery of its acts are impenetrable by the most profound research. At Waterloo, I ought to have been victorious; the chances were a hundred to one in my favour; but Ney, the bravest of the brave, at the head of 42,000 Frenchmen, suffered himself to be delayed a whole

day by some thousands of Nassau troops. Had it not been for this inexplicable inactivity, the English army would have been taken *flagrante delicto*, and annihilated without striking a blow.* Grouchy, with 40,000 men, suffered Bulow and Blücher to escape from him; and, finally, a heavy fall of rain had made the ground so soft, that it was impossible to commence the attack at day-break. Had I been able to commence early, Wellington's army would have been trodden down in the defiles of the forest, before the Prussians could have had time to arrive. It was lost without resource. The defeat of Wellington's army would have been peace, the repose of Europe, the recognition of the interests of the masses, and of the democracy."

Then, after a few minutes' deep reflection, he resumed:

"Send no answer; do not acknowledge the receipt of the communication. There is time enough to do that, and I shall probably reply to it by a protest, which I shall send to Vienna and Petersburg at the same time as to London."

Colonel Wilks, the ex-governor, sent to ask permission to take leave of the Emperor before leaving the island. He had been formerly a diplomatic agent of the East India Company, and was a man of distinguished talents and various acquirements. We had, however, seen little of him, because the gout had kept him confined to bed for the most part of the year.

* The Emperor was not aware at that time of the cause of Ney's *forced* inaction.

His daughter was as remarkable for the grace and beauty of her person, as for her information. She spoke French like a native, and served as an interpreter for her father in his interview with us. The Emperor received them, (the father and daughter,) with a great degree of good humour; expressed his regret at their departure; and, after having conversed for a long time upon the extension of the English dominion in India, he said—"You have lost America by enfranchisement; you have perceived the reason, and, as you say, you prevent the English from becoming proprietors in India. You do well, for, when children arrive at years of maturity, it is in the nature of things that they should become independent. Your power in India has been exposed to great dangers. I have constantly assailed it by my negotiations, and I would have reached it by my arms, had I been able to come to an understanding with the Emperor of Russia, on the partition of Turkey. This was a natural consequence of that war to the death, made upon me by the blind hatred of your cabinet, which could never be made to comprehend that France and England held in their hands the sceptre of the world —the sceptre of civilization, from the very day on which they were reconciled. How much evil we have done! How much good we might have effected!

"I have always wished sincerely for peace, and always offered it after a victory. I have never asked it after a reverse, because a nation more readily repairs its resources and finds new troops, than recovers

its honour. I am wrongfully accused of having refused peace at Dresden. When history shall give publicity to the negotiations of Prague, the policy of Metternich will be unmasked, and justice will be done me. I wished for a general peace, honourable to all parties, and such as would secure the repose of Europe. As the price of her mediation, Austria wished, by a stroke of the pen, to demolish the ramparts of Dantzig, Custrin, Magdeburg, Wesel, Mayence, Antwerp, Alexandria, and Mantua—in short, of all the strongest places in Europe, of which my troops were still in possession, and the keys of which had cost me thirty victories. She dared to propose to me, with arms in my hands, to evacuate the half of Germany, and to wait, like a fool, behind the Rhine, till the allied armies, having recovered the losses which they had sustained in so many battles, should be in condition to put forward new pretensions. It was in the name of my father-in-law, before Austria had drawn the sword, that they flattered themselves with inducing me to sign this insulting proposal. I said to Metternich, with indignation, 'Is it my father-in-law who entertains such a project? Is it he who sends you to me? In what an attitude does he wish to place me before the French people! He is strangely mistaken if he supposes that a throne so mutilated as that could afford a refuge for his daughter and his grandson in France! How much has England given you to induce you to play this game against me? Have not I done enough for your fortune? It is of no consequence—be frank

—what is it you wish? If twenty millions will not satisfy you—say what you wish?'

"The sudden paleness of Metternich, and his silence, recalled me to myself; but the blow was mortal, and from that moment I had no further belief in peace. On the same evening, however, my minister for foreign affairs signed a convention, by which I accepted the mediation of Austria, which, on her part, engaged to obtain from the allies, that a congress should be assembled in Prague before the 10th of August, in order to negotiate a general peace. My plenipotentiaries went thither, and their declarations, as recorded in the minutes, prove that I wished for peace at all costs, provided French honour was respected.

"I have always been of opinion that the rivalries between great nations have been the results of misunderstanding, and from the moment that I was balked in my project of making a descent upon England, by the fault of Admiral Villeneuve, I never desired anything but peace. As long as the negotiations on your part were conducted by Fox, they were honourably conducted, and had he lived, England and France would have been united in the closest alliance since 1806. Unfortunately for both nations, Fox died, and the ministry which succeeded him, adopted the shade of Pitt for its ægis.

"In short, I have always wished for peace with England, by all means reconcilable with the dignity of the French nation. I have desired peace, at the

cost of all sacrifices consistent with national honour; I had neither prejudice, hatred, nor the jealousy of ambition against England. It was of little consequence to me, that England was rich and prosperous, provided that France was so also. I should not have contested with her the dominion of the sea, I repeat, if at sea she had been ready to respect the French flag, as the Emperors of Austria or Russia would have respected our standards on land.

"Had I been conqueror at Waterloo, I would have made no change in the message sent to London before passing the Sambre.

"You are about to return to London, tell your fellow-citizens what you have just heard, and that, in going on board the Bellerophon of my own accord, I gave the English people the most splendid proof of my esteem."

After this audience came that of Captain Hamilton, of the frigate Havannah, who had made the passage with us from England. This officer was one of those who were on the most intimate terms with the Grand Marshal, so that it was almost as if one of ourselves was about to return to Europe. Very few days passed without his coming to Hut's Gate, as if he had been a fellow-countryman and a friend. The Emperor having asked, if he was likely to see the Prince Regent, said to him, on his replying in the affirmative, "Well, in that case, tell him, if he wishes to know my desire, that I have only one thing to ask, and that is, either my liberty or an executioner. I am not the

prisoner of England, and the government has, in my case, most unworthily violated the sacred laws of hospitality which even savages respect.

"Neither am I the prisoner of Russia, Austria, or Prussia. I freely, and of my own accord, gave myself up to England, because I had confidence in the sacred faith of the law, and in the honour of the English people. I have been cruelly deceived; the justice of God will avenge me; and already that of man has set an indelible mark of disgrace upon the conduct of your government.

"Had I given myself up to Russia, I should have been well received, for Alexander and myself are friends. Had I surrendered to Austria, I should have been respectfully received. The Emperor Francis would not have wished to inflict a disgrace upon the husband of his daughter, and the father of his grandson. Undoubtedly Metternich's police would have watched my most trifling actions, but what would his police have been to me, when I had renounced all concern in political affairs, and wished to live completely a stranger to all intrigues!

"I would have occupied the whole of my time in the education of my son, and in the peaceful enjoyment of family happiness. If, finally, I had thrown myself into the hands of the Prussians, the king would have received me with the recollection of his own misfortunes and my generosity. For, if I did him much evil, it was the result of his own conduct, and it depended entirely upon myself to do him much more. The

King of Prussia is an honest man—a man of honour, who would not have violated the sacred laws of hospitality. I must do him that justice.

"The hatred which your ministers bear to me has left a stain upon English honour. The Prince Regent should avow it, and protest before the nation, if he is really powerless against the decisions of his ministers. He is but a contemptible or wicked king who sympathizes with the vulgar passions of his inferiors, when he is able to repress them."

During the evening, the Emperor continued to observe upon the nature of the mission which he had given to Colonel Wilks and Captain Hamilton. This circumstance furnished him with an opportunity of passing in review the abilities of his different ambassadors—and it appeared that the Count de Narbonne was the one who really and thoroughly comprehended and exactly followed his instructions.

"This," said he, "arose, not only from his mind, which was equally subtle and observing, but still more from his courtly manner of address, and his name, which opened to him every door among the old aristocracy, and gave access to a more intimate acquaintance with my natural enemies; for, when one commands, by the influence of an immediate effect or the recollection of victory, the first comer is fit to be an ambassador, and an aide-de-camp is the best possible support; but when it becomes a question of negotiation, of penetrating the secrets of foreign offices, and outwitting the diplomatic ingenuity of enemies, it

is quite another affair, and then one ought to send to the old aristocracy of the European courts none but of their own stamp and order — there, aristocracy is a kind of real freemasonry. Neither an Otto nor an Andreossi would ever find access to the boudoirs of Vienna. In the presence of such persons there is no freedom of intercourse, no indiscretion of friendship. Whatever superiority of mind they may possess, whatever acquaintance with ceremonies and observances, they still constitute a part of the *profanum vulgus*, to whom the mysteries of high life are inaccessible. Otto was, undoubtedly, an extremely well informed diplomatist, and no man better understood the manner of conducting a treaty of peace or commerce; but he knew nothing whatever of the plots of Austria with Russia and England, at the close of the year 1812, and at the beginning of 1813; he was deceived by the protestations of Metternich, and contributed to blind me respecting the conduct of Austria.

"Chance led me to have some conversation respecting Vienna, with Narbonne, who happened on that occasion to be on duty as aide-de-camp. I learnt from him his former intimacy with the first families among the aristocracy of Vienna, and, recollecting the services which he had already rendered me at the court of Munich, I sent him to Vienna. From the very moment of his arrival, he succeeded, by means of the friendship of one of the first ladies at court, in removing the veil which had concealed the whole truth from his predecessor. His mother had been lady of honour to the

sister of Louis XVI., and, as such, during the emigration, had contracted a great intimacy with this lady, who looked upon Narbonne in no other light than as the son of her old friend. The ambassador was forgotten in the agreeable recollections of the heart—and the impression given by the mistress of the house produced an electrical effect on the frequenters of her salon. Hence, they conversed in the presence of Narbonne, as they would have done fifteen years before, and thus he knew all.

"I had occasion to see the same result when I removed Talleyrand from the office of foreign affairs. There were still some aristocratical affinities with Champagny, for he was an ancient noble, but none whatever with Maret. Notwithstanding, the latter had all the courtliness of the old regime, and the Duchess of Bassano, without contradiction, was as graceful in her deportment as she was beautiful. It is, however, natural after all—*the barrel still smells of the herring*.

"On the whole, perhaps, it might have been better for me to have left Otto in Vienna, and to have done nothing; for Metternich, knowing that I was no longer his dupe, threw off the mask and urged on his measures. With Otto, nothing on my part would have disturbed the habitual slowness and indecision of the Chancery of Vienna, and perhaps, events more favourable for France might have occurred. Other chances, in short, of an opposite description."

The mission on which I had been employed in Germany at the period of the retreat from Russia, led me

to recall various circumstances to the Emperor's attention, respecting the conduct of the Cabinet of Berlin, and that of Count de St. Marran, who was then the French minister in Prussia. "You are right," said he, "the Prussians did entertain the idea of seizing my person, and I ran that risk by crossing Silesia, but fortunately, they allowed the time to pass in deliberation, in which it was possible to execute the plan. They acted precisely as the Saxons did in the case of Charles XII., and like him, I might have said, on putting my foot on Saxon ground, 'you will see that they will deliberate to-morrow, whether they ought to have stopped me to-day"

CHAPTER X.

SIR HUDSON LOWE'S ANNOYANCES.

From the arrival of Sir Hudson Lowe, a remarkable change took place in our relations with the colonel and the officers of the garrison of every rank. The tradespeople were forbidden to sell anything to us directly, and were threatened, in case of disobedience, with the seizure and confiscation of their goods. Everything was now to pass through the medium of the governor or his agents, and any articles whatsoever, delivered in contravention of this order, were to be treated as contraband. This restriction was made known by a proclamation affixed upon the walls in James Town. The townspeople were forbidden to hold any communication with us whatsoever, without the permission and authority of the governor, under pain of banishment, if the offence was committed by a free man, and 100 lashes if by a slave.

In consequence of this new measure, sentinels were placed in all the passages deemed practicable for illegal communications by means of negroes or Chinese, and the guards on the various paths and roads leading to Longwood received orders to allow no one to pass without giving the countersign from the governor, or the chief of his staff, and also to make a written memorandum of all persons who presented themselves with or without a pass. The report was also to record the time of passing both in going and coming. The guard of honour, posted at the entrance to Longwood, was ordered to be as particular as possible in mentioning to whom the visit was made, and how long the visitor remained with each of us.

Several officers of the garrison, the colonels, and a member of the colonial council, came to take leave of the Emperor, and to express their regret, that they found themselves, by a feeling of regard to their own honour, compelled to abstain from coming any more to Longwood, "for," said the member of the council, "this man wishes us, after having visited you, to go to him and give an account of everything you say."

Even all these measures did not satisfy the eternal mistrust of Sir Hudson Lowe; he pretended that morning and evening it was necessary for him to see the Emperor personally. He had many conferences on this point with the grand marshal, and always with more or less bitterness; always affecting, however, to preserve the forms of a profound desire to reconcile the rigour of his instructions with the respect which

they prescribed to him to observe *towards the General, who had been for fifteen years the head of the French government, but whom he was forbidden to treat as a crowned head.* These were his own expressions.

The grand marshal having failed to overcome the respectful, but immovable obstinacy of the governor, the Emperor, at length, consented to give him audience, and received him, although he was much indisposed and obliged to remain in his bed-chamber. To the great astonishment of the Emperor, however, not a word was said to him by the governor upon the subject of his conferences with Bertrand, the interest he took in his health, and his desire to remove all those obstacles, which, as he had been told, were opposed to his making excursions beyond the limits of Longwood, and insinuations against the system of intermediation, which embittered every question. He made the warmest protestations of his wish to render as endurable as possible a captivity, which, according to his personal opinion, would not extend beyond the time of the occupation of the French territory by the allied armies; and then, as a proof of this desire, he made an offer of the daily attendance of Dr. Baxter, a physician in the English army, and a man of distinguished merit, who besides, spoke French well, which would be more convenient to us, than the necessity of consulting Mr. O'Meara in Italian or English. Such was the text of the conversation; but in spite of all his pains to please, and of an obvious desire to regain the ground

which he had lost, Sir Hudson Lowe only half succeeded, for, on his departure, the Emperor said to Marchand, " Take away that cup of coffee—I do not wish to drink it; that man has approached it, and I believe him quite capable of poisoning me."

A very different effect, however, had been produced on the mind of Sir Hudson Lowe—He thought himself sure of success, and in the intoxication of his self-love, he wrote an invitation to the grand marshal, requesting the honour of *General Bonaparte's* company at dinner the next day at Plantation House, to meet the Countess of Loudon, who had just arrived from Calcutta, would only remain two days in St. Helena, and had expressed a desire to see General Bonaparte. It is not necessary to say that the Emperor refused.

Some days afterwards, Sir Hudson Lowe, according to his custom, came unexpectedly to Longwood, and took the Emperor by surprise in the garden. It was impossible to refuse receiving him, when an aide-de-camp came to solicit that honour; but the Emperor was doubly vexed, and, from the very commencement, the conversation took a tone of extreme bitterness. This circumstance led to deplorable results, as it was the first cause of the Emperor's determination not to leave the house—a determination which contributed more than anything else to the development of the malady which killed him.

This conversation led to the following message, which Mr. O'Meara was commissioned to deliver

verbally to Sir Hudson Lowe: "They may with propriety keep me at a distance from the batteries and the shore; I shall never ask permission to approach them. All that is necessary, to be sure of my safe custody, is to guard sufficiently the coasts of this rock. Let General Lowe place picquets around the whole circuit of the island, which he can easily do with the number of men at his disposal, and it will be impossible for me to escape. Could he not, besides, put additional *videttes* on duty when he knows that I wish to go out? Could he not place them on the heights and everywhere else without my knowledge? I shall never give any indication of observing them. Could he not act in this manner, without obliging me to say to the officer on duty—'I wish to take a ride'? Not that I have any objection to Captain Poppleton; I like good soldiers, to whatever nation they belong; but I do not wish to do anything which can give any one a right to say that I acknowledge myself a prisoner. I have been forced to come here against the law of nations, and I shall never admit, by any part of my conduct, that I am rightfully detained. To ask an officer to accompany me, would be tacitly to make this acknowledgment. I have no intention to attempt an escape, although I have never pledged my word not to do so, because that too would be an acknowledgment of being a prisoner, which I shall never make. Could they not impose upon me new restrictions as soon as any vessel approaches, and not allow any ship to set sail without ascertaining that I am still

in the island, without employing such means of useless and vexatious constraint? It is absolutely necessary for my health to ride seven or eight leagues a day, but I shall certainly not do so with an officer in ordinary of Sir Hudson Lowe at my heels. I have always regarded it as a maxim, that a man exhibits more real courage by supporting calamities and resisting misfortunes when they occur, than by putting an end to his life. Self-destruction is the act of a gambler who has lost all, or that of a ruined spendthrift, and proves nothing but a want of courage. Your government deceives itself, if it supposes that by having recourse to all possible means of overwhelming me, such as sending me into exile on this rock, depriving me of all communication with my nearest relations, to such an extent as to leave me in absolute ignorance at this moment whether any of my blood are alive, isolating me from the world, and imposing vexatious and useless restrictions, which become more and more rigorous every day, it thinks to exhaust my power of endurance, and to drive me to commit suicide.

"This palace which they send me, according to report, is just so much money thrown into the sea. I would rather they sent me 400 volumes of books, than the whole of this house and its furniture. First, it will require several years to build this pretended palace, and before it is finished, I shall be dead.

"In short, tell your governor that I shall never go

beyond the barrier, if he persists in the system which he has adopted, and that I do not wish to see him again, unless he changes it."

The Emperor breakfasted occasionally in the garden, under the shade of an old willow, the only tree at that time in the garden which was not a gum tree. I say, "at that time," because in 1819, twenty-four beautiful trees were purchased and brought to Longwood, at great cost, and planted on a line with the library, so as to form an alley under which the Emperor could walk and breathe the fresh air, without, however, going beyond the limits of the little garden under his windows, which was respected by the sentinels placed by orders of Sir Hudson Lowe, from six o'clock in the evening till six o'clock in the morning.

O'Meara returned from the town in the morning, at the time the Emperor was breakfasting under the willow. He called him, and, wishing to show his satisfaction with his services, invited him to breakfast. The news brought from James Town, and what was passing at Plantation House, where they began already to speak of the marriage of the governor's eldest daughter, led the Emperor to speak of his landing at Cannes, and his ideas impelled him beyond the limits of a conversation; he rose quickly, entered his cabinet, and without reposing for a single instant, dictated what follows, under the title of the "MSS. of the Island of Elba." At eight o'clock in the evening, I was still writing. On another occasion—on that of composing

an answer to Lord Bathurst's despatch of the date of the 18th of March 1817—he dictated to me fourteen hours continuously, without any other repose than that afforded by desiring me to read from time to time what I had written. I was completely exhausted; he was not fatigued, and after this forced labour, he dined in the best spirits, refreshing his mind by dwelling on the scenes of his youth, which he took great pleasure in relating.

"What recollections," said he, "crowd upon my memory, when my thoughts are no longer occupied with political topics, or with the insults of that wicked man. I am carried back to my first impressions of the life of man. It seems to me always in these moments of calm, that I should have been the happiest man in the world with 12,000 francs a-year, living as the father of a family, with my wife and son, in our old house at Ajaccio. You remember its beautiful situation—you cannot have forgotten it! You have often despoiled it of its finest bunches of grapes, when you ran off with Pauline to go and satisfy your childish appetite. And Madame Joue—into what a rage she put herself, and how she scolded that poor Pauline, upon whom the whole storm always burst! Happy hours! the natal soil has infinite charms; memory embellishes it with all its powers, even to the very odour of the ground, which one can so realize to the senses, as to be able, with the eyes shut, to tell the spots first trodden by the foot of childhood.

"I still remember with emotion, the most minute

details of a journey during which I accompanied Paoli. More than five hundred of us, young persons of the first families in the island, formed his guard of honour; I felt proud of walking by his side, and he appeared to take pleasure in pointing out to me, with paternal affection, the passes of our mountains, which had been witnesses of the heroic struggle of our fellow-countrymen for natural independence. The impression made upon me, whilst I listened, still vibrates in my heart! Come, place your hand upon my bosom! see, how it beats!" and it was true, his heart did beat with such rapidity, as would have excited my astonishment, had I not been acquainted with his organization, and with the kind of electric commotion which his thoughts communicated to his whole being.

"It is like the sound of a bell;" added he, "there is none here—I am no longer accustomed to hear it. The sound of a bell never strikes my ear, without carrying back my thoughts to the sensations of my youth. The Angelus' bell led me back to pleasant reveries, when, in the midst of earnest thoughts, and burthened with the weight of an imperial crown, I heard its first sound under the shady woods of St. Cloud; and often have I been supposed to have been revolving the plan of a campaign or digesting an imperial law, when my thoughts were wholly absorbed in dwelling upon the first impressions of my youth. Religion is, in fact, the dominion of the soul—it is the hope, the anchor of safety, the deliverance from evil. What a service has Christianity rendered to

humanity! what a power would it still have, did its ministers comprehend their mission!"

We shall afterwards see what ideas the Emperor entertained concerning the mission of a priest.

The restless mind of Sir Hudson Lowe could not remain long at ease without giving us new subjects of complaint against his unworthy tricks.

The declaration signed on the 17th October, 1816, did not suffice; he wished personally to interrogate each of the persons belonging to the Emperor's household; and the fear with which he meant to inspire them, by detailing the privations to which they were about to expose themselves, was a proof of the real object of this inquest, the official purpose of which was to ascertain that the declaration had been freely signed, and without regret or reserve of any kind.

The smallest details respecting Longwood assumed in his eyes an extreme importance, and in consequence, he issued an order to fix the nature and quantity of the provisions to be furnished for the use of the establishment at Longwood, and I received the following document:

"Lieutenant-General Sir Hudson Lowe has the honour to inform Lieutenant-General Count Montholon, that in consequence of an order of this day, issued to the Commissariat department, no more than the following articles, in the quantities specified below, will be delivered for the use of the establishment at Longwood:

"LONGWOOD HOUSE.

7	bottles of Claret	per day.
2	ditto vin de Grave	ditto
26	ditto Champagne	per month.
11	ditto Constantia	ditto.
23	ditto Madeira	ditto.
4	ditto Malaga	ditto.
22	ditto Cape wine for the servants ...	per day.
7	ditto Teneriffe	per month.
10	ditto brandy	ditto.
3	ditto rum	ditto.
3	ditto liqueurs	ditto.
8	ditto Sirop d'Orgeat	ditto
3	ditto Fruits in brandy	per month.
6	pots confections	ditto.
23	bottles of vinegar	ditto.
32	flasks of olive oil	ditto.
9	ditto olives	ditto.
6	pots of mustard	ditto.
3	jars of pickles	ditto.
9	small baskets of fine salt	ditto.
30	pounds of kitchen salt	ditto.
52	ditto bread	per day
75	beef or mutton	ditto.
7	chickens	ditto.
22	roast fowls	per month.
9	hams	ditto.
9	pickled tongues	ditto.
45	pounds of lard	ditto.
45	ditto suet	ditto.
225	ditto salt butter	ditto.
34	eggs	per day.
8	bottles of milk	ditto.
30	pound of cheese	ditto.
23	ditto soap	per month.
200	bushels of coals	ditto.
45	pounds of loaf sugar	ditto.

240	ditto sugar-candy	ditto.
30	ditto dry fruit	ditto.
30	ditto tea	ditto.
188	ditto wax lights	ditto.
45	ditto pâte d'Italie	ditto.
70	ditto rice	per month.
120	ditto flour	ditto.
2	dishes of vegetables	per day.
and 2	ditto fish, when possible	ditto.

"The wood for warming Napoleon Bonaparte's chambers shall be furnished and gathered in Dead Wood by the Company's farmer."

Meantime a case of recent pamphlets having been sent from England, addressed to Sir Hudson Lowe, he selected two or three of them which contained most atrocious libels upon the Emperor, and sent them to Longwood as a mark of civility, along with the "Embassy to Warsaw," by the Abbé de Pradt. He yielded without doubt, to some of the inspirations of that savage hatred, of which he had imbibed the first impressions during the time in which he was at the head of the battalion of Corsican and Calabrian deserters, which he commanded in Sicily. He was, however, deceived, for the Emperor laughed heartily at these collections of absurd fables related concerning his reign, by the old gossips of the Emigration. The Embassy to Warsaw afforded him an especial subject of amusement, and he frequently repeated, "Would you believe it, *but for one man I should have been master of the world!*" Can you conceive that a clever man like the Abbé de Pradt could write such nonsense?"

In captivity, the smallest circumstances often furnish a pretext for an explosion of bad temper. A man must have worn a prisoner's chain in order to comprehend how much moral courage it requires to restrain the sufferings of the mind, and not to suffer oneself to be ruled by a spirit of acrimony, which is always ready to see an insult in a smile, a bitter word, or a difference of opinion.

Paris to Longwood, what an immense transition! I accuse no one. At first, it was too much for us all. A duel was about to take place; the Emperor heard of it, and disarmed us by saying with the emotion of a father: "Do you wish to fight under my very eyes? Am I then no longer the object of your care? Are not the eyes of our enemies fixed upon Longwood? You have quitted your families, you have sacrificed everything from love to me, and in order to share my misfortunes, and you are now about voluntarily to aggravate them, and to render them insupportable. Be brothers! otherwise you will be only an additional punishment to me! Be brothers, I command you—I entreat you as a father!"

Sir Hudson Lowe manœuvred so well, as once more to be received by the Emperor, and that even in his bed-chamber. He had, as he said, important communications to make, which could only be made to the Emperor in person. This was a mere bait to procure admission, and who would not have taken it?

The conference, although protracted, led to no particular incident, and the hope of any communications

more or less important proved illusive. The Emperor alone, from some words which had fallen from Sir Hudson Lowe, thought it possible to put an end to one of the daily recurring causes of bitterness in our relations—the question respecting the Emperor's title, —and of being able to adopt, with one accord, a designation which would satisfy the pretensions of both parties. The grand marshal received orders from the Emperor to open a negotiation on this point, and to propose that for the future he should take the name of Colonel Duroc, or Colonel Muiron. These two names were dear to him, from having been borne by two friends, both of whom were killed at his side on the field of battle; Duroc, as his grand marshal in the campaign of 1813, and Muiron, as his aide-de-camp at the bridge of Arcola, covering him with his body at the moment of a frightful discharge of grape-shot, when he dashed forward on the bridge, at the head of the Grenadiers of the 32nd.

Several months elapsed in the interchange of notes, without any result; and it was not till some time in the month of September, that the negotiation began to assume a substantial form, through the mediation of O'Meara; and on the insinuation of Sir Hudson Lowe, that the title of Emperor would be always an obstacle in the way of his government opening the gates of St. Helena, "I wished," replied the Emperor, "to come here *incognito;* I proposed it to the Admiral, but the proposal was rejected. They persisted in calling me General Bonaparte. I

am not ashamed of that name, but I do not wish to receive it from the English government. Had the French republic never had a legal existence for England, they would no more have had the right to call me General than first magistrate: in fact, as Emperor, I was elected by the French people, and became their first magistrate by compact.

"Had the admiral remained, it is nevertheless probable that we should have come to an understanding on this question of the name. I would have taken that of Duroc or Muiron."

Some days afterwards, the Emperor caused the following note, written by himself, but not signed, to be sent to Sir Hudson Lowe:

"It occurs to me, that in the conversation which has taken place between General Lowe and my officers, things have been said respecting my position which are not conformable to my ideas.

"I have placed my abdication in the hands of the French nation, and in favour of my son. I went to England with the most perfect confidence, either to reside there or in America, in complete retirement, and under the name of a colonel killed at my side, *resolved entirely to abstain from all connexion with political affairs of any kind whatsoever.*

"Arrived on board the Northumberland, I was told I was a prisoner of war, that the government had resolved to transport me beyond the equator, and that I was to be called General Bonaparte. I felt it my duty ostensibly to resume my title of Em-

peror, in opposition to that of General, which they wished to impose upon me. It is now seven or eight months since Count Montholon proposed to prevent these little difficulties which are of daily occurrence, by adopting for me a common name.*

"An appellation is at present given me, which does not recall the past, but which is not consistent with the usual forms of society. *I am always ready and willing to adopt a name which may consist with ordinary usage*, and I reiterate the assurance, that if it be judged proper to release me from this cruel abode, *I am resolved to keep myself wholly a stranger to political events of every description.* Such are my views, and whatever else may be said on this subject is destitute of foundation."

Sir Hudson considered this communication of the highest importance, and immediately sent the following reply:

"The Governor, without loss of time, will forward to the British government the paper which has been delivered to him to day, on the part of Napoleon Bonaparte."

At the same time, however, he expressed his regret at Longwood, that the Emperor had not signed the document, not that he meant to raise the slightest doubt respecting the authenticity of the writing, but only because he thought the signature would add still greater importance to the paper, and that it was, consequently, only for the advantage of the person who

* The Admiral wrote to London on this subject, and no more was heard of it.

had written it, that he took the liberty of making this observation. He said, moreover, that he would carefully and anxiously re-consider his instructions, as well as those given to his predecessor, Sir George Cockburn, to see if he could find any possibility of complying with the desire which had been expressed, of consenting to adopt one of the two names proposed; he thought, however, in any case, that it would not be possible to admit them without the modification of some feudal title, in exchange for that of colonel. I was ordered to write to Sir Hudson Lowe, that the Emperor would agree to change the appellation of Colonel Duroc or Muiron, for that of Baron Duroc; and that he was ready to use that signature, if the governor would consent from that time forward, with the reservation of any future decision of his government, to adopt for him the title of Baron Duroc; but in the contrary case, he would sign nothing, and would make him acquainted with his views through one of us.

"The governor and his government," said the Emperor, "act absurdly in this question, and do not understand it at all. I do not call myself Napoleon, Emperor of France, but the Emperor Napoleon, which is a very different thing, because it is in accordance with the usage adopted by sovereigns who have abdicated. It was thus that James II. preserved his title of king and majesty after having lost his crown; and that King Charles of Spain preserved the title of king, after he had abdicated in favour of his son Ferdinand VII. If I was in England, I would not call my-

self Emperor; but a pretension is, in this case, put forward, that the French nation had not the right to make me its sovereign without the permission of the king of England. Never shall I yield to that.

"A man at the head of a weak party during popular disturbances, is called a rebel chief; but he has no sooner succeeded, performed great actions, and raised his country and himself, than he is designated general, president, consul, or sovereign. It is success alone which justifies and confirms the title. If he be less successful or less fortunate, he remains merely a rebel chief, or perishes on the scaffold. For years, Washington was nothing more than a leader of rebels in the eyes of the mother country; but victory crowned him with laurels, and England was condemned to recognise him as chief magistrate of the United States of North America. It would be truly ridiculous in me to call myself Emperor, in the position in which I am now placed, and this would only suggest the recollection of those unfortunate maniacs, who, in their chains, and on their bed of straw, have imagined themselves to be kings. It is only the English ministry which compels me by its conduct towards me, and makes my French pride wish and continue to claim this title as long as things shall remain as they are at present."

The very evening of his conversation with the Emperor, Sir Hudson Lowe wrote me a long letter, in order to know what part of the island we would desire to select for the erection of the new house.

all the materials for which, already fashioned, as well as its furniture, had just arrived at James Town.

I received the Emperor's command to reply to his letter as follows:—

TO THE GOVERNOR.

"Longwood, July 8, 1816.

"SIR,—I beg to acknowledge the receipt of your letter. The Emperor having suffered the preceding night from rheumatism, I was unable to communicate it to him before yesterday evening. He said to me—'This letter has been written with the intention of being amicable. It forms a great contrast to the disgraceful vexations to which we are every day subjected. It does not agree with the conversation which I had with Sir H. Lowe, which is here referred to. Of that conversation I only retain a painful remembrance of something disagreeable. The climate of this island does not at all suit my health. They study new means of rendering my residence here more unhealthy and more dreadful.'

"I have considered it my duty, Sir, to acquaint you with the manner in which the Emperor thinks on the subject, as the best return I can make for the confidence you have reposed in me. He attaches a very secondary interest to all questions of lodging, furniture, or anything of that sort. With the best intentions, your government cannot prevent our feeling, upon this rock, the want of articles most necessary to our comfort.

"Longwood is certainly the most unhealthy part of

the island; there is no water, no vegetation, no shade; no one has ever been able to establish on this spot even a kitchen garden; the ground is scorched by the wind. This part of the island, therefore, is uninhabited and wild. Had the Emperor been settled at Plantation House, where there are trees, water and gardens, he would have been as comfortably situated as any one can be in this miserable country. If, then, you intend to build, it would be better to do so in some part of the island already cultivated, and in some place where there are trees, water, and vegetation. The idea of adding wings to the wretched building at Longwood, would include all sorts of inconveniences. It would be nothing, in the end, but enlarging a shed, and we should have the unpleasantness of workmen for five or six months. We only require at Longwood the execution of some repairs. The rain has now penetrated, for the last two months, into the rooms of Count Las Cases and of Baron Gourgaud, which must be very unhealthy. We should require at Longwood a reservoir for water to be used in case of fire; the principal part of the roof consists of pitched paper, and the least spark would set the house in a blaze. A large quantity of our linen, and other effects, has been entirely spoiled by the rats, for want of proper clothes-presses. The books which were brought out to us by the Newcastle, have been exposed to similar injuries for a fortnight, for want of proper book-shelves to place them on, &c. The most simple means, it seems to me, of arranging all these little matters would

be, to give orders to a master-mason to examine and repair all such defects as soon as they appear, and to put an upholsterer in charge of the furniture, &c.; placing at his disposal the means of effecting such changes or improvements as might be required. People whose business such things are, are always best able to adopt the necessary steps on such little matters.

"I have the honour to be, Sir, your humble and obedient servant,

(Signed) "GENERAL COUNT DE MONTHOLON."

CHAPTER XI.

ADMIRAL SIR PULTENEY MALCOLM, AND THE COMMISSIONERS.

On the 17th of June, the frigate Newcastle had arrived, and brought us the new Admiral, together with the Austrian, Russian, and French Commissioners.

Admiral Sir Pulteney Malcolm came to replace Sir George Cockburn in the command of the naval station of St. Helena and the Cape of Good Hope. Lady Malcolm accompanied him. Both understood the mode of completely winning our sympathies, and took their departure from St. Helena, carrying with them the highest testimonies of the Emperor's satisfaction.

Baron Sturmer, the Austrian Commissioner, belonged to the office of Prince Metternich; his wife was a French woman, the daughter of an employé of some standing in the department of the minister of war. The Baron had become acquainted with her, and married her in 1814, during the course of a

mission to Paris. Both were anxious to be on a good footing with us. The Baroness was both agreeable and handsome; her husband had been brought up in a good school, as he proved to us, and no one could be surprised at his rapid advancement in his diplomatic career.

Count Balmin, the Russian commissioner, was like all the other diplomatic agents of Russia, who have orders to please everybody, and to learn everything. He succeeded at Longwood beyond all reasonable expectation, and became a member of the family at Plantation House, by his marriage with Miss Johnson, the eldest daughter of Lady Lowe.

The Marquis de Montchenu is the type of a colonel of the reign of Louis XVI.; such as I represent to myself De la Fayette, De Noailles, De Lameth, when setting out to serve as volunteers under the orders of Washington. The Emperor had known him well at Valence, when his regiment had been a long time in garrison with the regiment of cavalry, of which the Marquis was lieutenant-colonel. They had even been rivals in paying their court to Mademoiselle de St. Germain, who married M. de Montalivet, when each of them supposed himself to be the favoured suitor. These youthful recollections regulated all the intercourse of the Marquis de Montchenu with us, even till the Emperor's death, and he deserved on all occasions our respect and commendation.

Admiral Sir Pulteney Malcolm made a most favourable impression upon the Emperor; he had hardl

retired from being presented, when the Emperor said to us—"His look, his attitude, his language, are those of an honest man; I really felt pleasure in seeing and conversing with him. If he commanded here in the place of that execrable Sicilian *sbirro*, we should be at peace; nay, I really believe that if we were the most distrustful of guests, we should gain confidence in him, his appearance announces so clearly that his heart is good, and that he is an honest man."

The commissioners gave themselves much trouble, in vain, to be presented. The governor would not allow them to be presented as simple individuals, and the Emperor would not recognise them as overseers of his captivity. They were really grieved at this, particularly the amiable Montchenu, who was so happy when he saw us; his first question after he had disembarked, and found himself in the midst of the group of officers in attendance on Sir Hudson Lowe, had been—"For the love of God, tell me if any of you speak French?"

The Newcastle frigate had brought us out several large boxes of books. This was a great pleasure to the Emperor, and it afforded him occupation for several days, to classify and arrange them on the shelves of an extempore library, which he had caused to be made of boards, in the room which I had occupied at the commencement of our establishment at Longwood, and which now became for the future the library. These books were sent by the government, but as they had been bought according to the instructions of General

Bertrand, the ministry required the price of them, which, according to them, amounted to 36,000 francs. Three fowling-pieces had also been sent with this cargo. Sir Hudson Lowe took great care to send them, specifying it as a piece of politeness on the part of the Prince Regent; but the Emperor caused them to be sent back again to Plantation House, saying, that he had no need of fowling-pieces, since he was confined to a space encircled by dry lava, where there were no wild animals except rats. He added, that he could not but believe that wrong ideas were entertained in England respecting his condition, or otherwise he could not consider the present of fowling-pieces in any other light than that of an odious mockery.

As the grand marshal constantly refused to reimburse the 36,000 francs, without having received the bills, &c., the books were seized by Sir Hudson Lowe after the Emperor's death, and sold by him as the property of the government for 4 or 5,000 francs, without his having informed either General Bertrand or myself of the circumstance.

Many of these books were covered with notes written by the Emperor, and nearly all contained his impressions on reading them. The sale of these books was a subject of real grief to me, but I cannot reproach myself with having left any means untried, after the death of the Emperor, of appropriating them to myself, by offering to pay immediately the sum claimed for them. Sir Hudson Lowe asserted, and

perhaps truly, that it was not in his power to dispose of the books, which were, *de facto*, the property of the government.

The orders and counter-orders dictated by the uneasy and vexatious character of the government, gave rise daily to nuisances and to misunderstandings on the part of the posts placed on the various roads. The commissioners themselves were not free from these vexations; in fact, the Marquis de Montchenu was one of the first victims. His wish to see his countrymen had determined him to direct his rides towards Longwood, and he had reason to hope that his title of a countryman would open our gates to him, and that his uniform as a general officer and commissioner of his majesty the most Christian king, would permit him to pass freely over any part of the island. Great was his astonishment, therefore, when, hardly arrived at the Alarm house, he was prevented from passing further by a sergeant, who explained to him, as well as he could, that it was precisely because he was a commissioner of his most Christian majesty, that he was not to pass. In vain the poor Marquis took off his hat, and, pointing to the large white cockade in it, cried out—"Look, look!" in order to prove to the officer that he was not of our party, for he continued to labour under the mistake that the sergeant did not know him. He was obliged at length to give up the point in despair, and returned home, resolved to address a diplomatic note on the subject to Sir Hudson Lowe. In fact, immediately on his

return to the town, he dispatched his aide-de-camp to Plantation House. Sir Hudson was embarrassed; he did not wish the commissioners to see us, nor did he dare to refuse them permission officially; in fact, a thing which may appear extraordinary, he was constantly more opposed by the French commissioner, than by his colleagues, in his dark and tortuous course respecting us. Baron Sturmer, on the contrary, yielded to him in everything. As to Count Balmin, he pretended to take no trouble about the matter, and to respect all Sir Hudson Lowe's caprices; but he took his measures so well, that he was soon intimate with us, and saw General Gourgaud almost every day. The Marquis de Montchenu watched us whenever we came into the town, to offer us breakfast or dinner, and his offers were so cordial that it was impossible to refuse. His visits to Longwood were rare, in consequence of the fatigue of such a long ride to a man of his age, and probably also, because it had been proved to him that he must give up all hopes of seeing the Emperor. However, the recollections of his youth established a sort of intercourse of polite attentions between them. The Marquis never failed to send the Emperor the French newspapers, as soon as he received them, even before having read them himself, and he always added a slight extract from his private letters, as a sort of bulletin of the Paris letters. The Emperor, on the other hand, sent him books from his library, or the pamphlets of

any interest, which Lady Holland was kind enough to send him by every opportunity.

The bill of the 16th of April, 1816, by which parliament sanctioned the treaty of the 2nd of August, 1815, and all the actions of the English government in respect to the Emperor, had just conferred on the ministry, and consequently on the governor of St. Helena, a discretionary power of determining the penalties to be incurred by any one who should violate the rules prescribed by the Emperor's guard. For us, the penalty was immediate conveyance to the Cape of Good Hope, there to remain under *surveillance* during the pleasure of the government; for the colonists, banishment from the island, without any indemnity for losses which they might suffer in consequence; for slaves or Chinese, corporal punishment. Any officer who should be guilty of the slightest violation of the general orders, was to be sent back to England, and cashiered. Finally, the punishment of high treason was incurred by any one who should not immediately communicate to the governor any letter, writing, or verbal message, received from us, or who should procure us money or anything else, without having first received permission so to do.

Sir Hudson Lowe communicated this bill to us officially, on the 23rd of July, 1816, as well as the debates on the occasion, and his intention to add some more restrictions on the little liberty we enjoyed. The grand marshal had received from Sir George Cockburn the right of issuing passes to those persons

who were to be presented to the Emperor, by means of which, they were allowed to enter the limits of Longwood, and this state of things had continued since our establishment there. Sir Hudson Lowe now pretended that he alone had the right to grant these passes, and a correspondence of considerable bitterness was commenced on the subject, which was only terminated by a ministerial decision in our favour in the course of 1817.

This pretension of Sir Hudson Lowe was uselessly troublesome both to the visitors and to us, since, in order to be presented, it was necessary to have previously obtained from the governor a permission to communicate with Longwood.

The expenses of the establishment at Longwood were a continual cause of chicanery and interference on the part of Sir Hudson Lowe, in the slightest details of domestic life. He was not even satisfied with making arrangements respecting the quantity and the quality of the provisions for the Emperor's household, but he even required that the Emperor should contribute to the expense. I received a note from him on the 17th of August, which was to prove to me that the expenses still exceeded the allowance, notwithstanding the reductions which he had ordered to be made, and that it was necessary, therefore, in order to avoid any further reductions, which he himself allowed would be unsuitable, that I should place at his disposal 200,000 francs a year, or if I preferred

it, 16,000 francs a month; he came to Longwood to communicate this verbally to the Emperor.

Deeply affected by the insult, the Emperor said to Sir Hudson Lowe, "You push the annoyance so far as to enter into the most contemptible details; you have the audacity to endeavour to make me believe that no changes have taken place since your arrival; that I mistake your intentions, and would entertain a very different opinion of you, if I knew you better. No, Sir—no, I should not change my opinion; Generals are known by their victories, or their noble actions. How should I know you in any other relation than that of my jailor? You never suffer a day to pass without torturing me by your insults. Where have you ever commanded anything but bandits or deserters, the refuse of every country? I am well acquainted with the names of all the English generals of distinction; I have never heard your name mentioned except as a brigand chief. You have never commanded men of honour; you say you have not asked for the government of this rock, but you forget that there are certain employments which are never conferred upon any, except such as are especially distinguished by the manner in which they dishonour themselves. Executioners do not solicit the disgrace of their employment, and whilst inflicting tortures on the unfortunate whom they are about to kill, like you, they say, 'I only obey my orders, and if I were less skilful, you would only suffer the more.' More-

over, I do not believe your government to be so blinded by their hatred towards me, as to have disgraced themselves by prescribing the infamous course of conduct which you pursue. In short, do not weary me any more with the disgusting details of your regulations respecting my table; send nothing to Longwood if you choose, I shall go and sit down at the table of the officers of the brave 53rd; I am persuaded there is not one of them who will refuse to share his dinner with an old soldier like myself. You have full power over my body, but my mind is, and will remain, beyond your reach. It is as proud and as full of courage on this rock, as when I commanded Europe."*

Sir Hudson Lowe did not answer at the time, but the next day he said to O'Meara, "Let General

* The Emperor having learned that Sir Hudson Lowe had said to the officers, that he did not wish to see them any more, and that a red coat made him sick at heart, sent for Captain Poppleton, and said to him, "Sir,—I believe you are the oldest captain of the 53rd; tell your comrades that a falsehood has been stated to them, when it was insinuated that I did not wish to see them any more, and that a red coat made me sick at heart; tell them that I see them at all times with pleasure, I esteem the 53rd—they are a regiment of brave men, and have fought valiantly; the service which the regiment is here called upon to perform, is a painful duty, which they fulfil like men of honour. In saying this, Sir, I only do my duty towards you, and all your companions. I am an old soldier, and admire brave men, who have received the baptism of fire, under whatever colours they have served."

Captain Poppleton thanked the Emperor for the kindness of what he said, and assured him that the 53rd were filled with the deepest feelings of respect and admiration for his person.

Bonaparte know that it depends entirely upon me to render his situation more agreeable; but if he continues to treat me with disrespect, I will make him feel my power. He is my prisoner, and I have a right to treat him according to his behaviour. I will bring him to reason."

It seemed, indeed, as if, since the arrival of this governor, we were to be subjected to some new outrage every day.

The Emperor determined to endeavour to put a stop to it. He considered, besides, that acts of so much importance as the treaty of the 2nd of August, and the Bill of the 16th of April, ought not to remain unanswered; he therefore dictated to me the following letter:—

TO GENERAL SIR H. LOWE.

"Longwood, August 23, 1816.

"SIR,—I have received a copy of the treaty of the 2nd of August, 1815, concluded between his Britannic majesty, the Emperor of Austria, the Emperor of Russia, and the King of Prussia, inclosed in your letter of July 23rd.

"The Emperor Napoleon protests against the contents of this treaty. He is not the prisoner of the English government. After having resigned his crowns into the hands of representatives, for the advantage of the constitution adopted by the French people, and in favour of his son, he retired freely, and of his own will, to England, to live there as a private individual,

under the protection of British laws. The violation of laws can never constitute a right. In point of fact, the Emperor is in the power of England, but neither *de facto* nor *de jure* has he been, nor is he, in the power of Austria, Russia, or Prussia, even according to the laws and customs of England, which never included the Russians, the Austrians, the Prussians, the Spaniards, or Portuguese, in any exchange of prisoners, even while allied with those powers, and carrying on war conjointly with them. The treaty of the 2nd of August, agreed to fifteen days after the Emperor Napoleon's arrival in England, can have no effect in law; it merely presents the spectacle of the four greatest powers of Europe entering into a coalition for the oppression of a single individual; a coalition in direct opposition to the feelings of all nations, as it is to the doctrines of sound morality. The Emperors of Austria and of Russia, and the King of Prussia, having, neither in fact nor in law, any authority over the person of the Emperor Napoleon, could not legally make any arrangement respecting him. If the Emperor Napoleon had fallen into the power of the Emperor of Austria, that prince would have remembered the relation which the laws of religion and nature have established between father and son, a relation which can never be disregarded with impunity. He would have remembered that Napoleon had four times restored to him his crown—at Léoben, in 1797, and at Lunéville, in 1801, when his armies were at the walls of Vienna; at Presburg, in 1806, and

at Vienna in 1809, when his armies were masters of the capital and of three-fourths of the empire. That prince would have remembered the protestations of friendship which he made to him at the bivouac in Moravia, in 1806, and at the interview at Dresden in 1812. If the person of the Emperor Napoleon had fallen into the power of the Emperor Alexander, he would have remembered the bonds of friendship contracted at Tilsit, at Erfurt, and during twelve years of daily intercourse. He would have remembered the conduct of the Emperor Napoleon, the day after the battle of Austerlitz, when he might have made him prisoner with the wreck of his army, but contented himself with his parole, and allowed him to retreat; he would have remembered the personal danger to which the Emperor Napoleon exposed himself in his endeavours to extinguish the fire of Moscow, and to preserve his capital. Certainly, this prince would not have violated the duties of friendship and gratitude towards a friend in misfortune. If the person of the Emperor had even fallen into the power of the King of Prussia, that sovereign would not have forgotten that it had been in the power of the Emperor, after the battle of Friedland, to have placed another prince on the throne of Berlin; he would not have forgotten, before a disarmed enemy, the protestations of friendship, and the sentiments he expressed towards him at Dresden in 1812. Thus we see by Articles 2 and 5 of the said treaty of the 2nd of August, that these princes, not being able to influence in any degree the fate of the Emperor,

refer to what his Britannic Majesty, who takes upon him to fulfil all their obligations, may determine on the subject. These princes have reproached the Emperor for having preferred the protection of England to theirs. The false ideas which the Emperor entertained respecting the liberality of the English laws, and in reference to the influence which the opinion of a generous and free people ought to have upon its government, determined him to prefer the protection of its laws to those of his father-in-law or of his old friend. The Emperor Napoleon always had it in his power to secure his personal freedom by means of a diplomatic treaty, either by putting himself at the head of the army of the Loire, or by taking the command of the army of the Gironde, then commanded by General Clausel; but as he sought merely for retreat and the protection of free laws, whether English or American, all stipulations appeared to him unnecessary; he believed that the English people would be more bound by his frank, noble, and generous proceeding, than it would have been by any treaty whatever. He has been deceived; but this error will always cause a true Briton to blush, either in the present generation or in those to come, and will be a lasting proof of the want of honour displayed by the English government. Austrian and Russian commissioners have arrived at St. Helena. If their mission is intended to fulfil a part of the duties which the Emperors of Austria and Russia have contracted in consequence of the treaty of the 2nd of August, and to take care that in a little

island surrounded by the Ocean, the agents of the English government should not treat with disrespect a prince connected with them by the bonds of relationship, and by several other ties, this proceeding is worthy of the character of these two sovereigns; but you, sir, have taken upon you to assert, that these commissioners have neither the right nor the power to have an opinion on anything which may take place on this rock.

"The English ministry has caused the Emperor Napoleon to be sent to St. Helena, 2,000 leagues from Europe. This rock, situated under the tropic at 500 leagues from any continent, is exposed to the dreadful heat of these latitudes; it is covered with clouds and fogs three-fourths of the year; it is at the same time the driest and the most humid climate in the world. It is hatred alone which has presided over the choice of this residence, detrimental as it is, and must be, to the health of the Emperor, as well as over the instructions dispatched by the English government to the officers commanding at St. Helena. They were ordered to address the Emperor as General, wishing to oblige him to acknowledge that he had never reigned in France; and it was this that determined him not to assume an *incognito*, as he had decided upon doing when he quitted France. When chief magistrate of the republic, under the title of First Consul, he concluded the preliminaries of the treaty of London and the treaty of Amiens with the King of Great Britain; he received as ambassadors, Lord Cornwallis, Mr. Merry,

and Lord Whitworth, who signed the treaty as such at his court; he accredited, as ambassadors at the Court of Great Britain, Count Otto and General Andreossy, who resided as such at the Court of Windsor, when, after an exchange of notes between the ministers of foreign affairs of the two monarchies, Lord Lauderdale came to Paris, as plenipotentiary from the King of England; he treated with the plenipotentiaries of the Emperor Napoleon, and remained for several months at the court of the Tuileries. When afterwards, at Chatillon, Lord Castlereagh signed the ultimatum which the allied powers laid before the Emperor Napoleon, he recognised in this act the fourth dynasty. This ultimatum was more advantageous than the treaty of Paris, but it was required by it that France should give up Belgium and the left bank of the Rhine, which was contrary to the arrangements of Frankfort and to the proclamations of the allied powers, and also to the oath which the Emperor had sworn at his coronation, to maintain the integrity of the empire. The Emperor thought, then, that these natural limits were necessary to the protection of France as well as to the balance of power in Europe, he considered that the French nation, in the circumstances in which it was then placed, ought rather to run the risk of a war than to depart from them. France would have obtained its claims, and with them have preserved its honour, if treason had not aided the allies. The treaty of the 2nd of August and the bill passed by the British parliament, call the Emperor, Napoleon Bonaparte, and give him no title but that

of General. The title of General Bonaparte is, no doubt, an eminently glorious one; the Emperor was only General Bonaparte at Lodi, at Castiglione, at Rivoli, at Arcola, at Léoben, at the Pyramids, at Aboukir; but for seventeen years he has borne the names of First Consul and Emperor. This would, in effect, amount to acknowledging that he had neither been first magistrate of the republic, nor sovereign of the fourth dynasty. Those who consider nations as flocks of sheep, which by divine right are the property of some family, belong neither to the century, nor to the spirit of English legislation, which has several times changed the order of its dynasty, because great changes which had occurred in public opinion, and in which the reigning princes had not participated, had rendered them unfit to provide for the happiness of the majority of the nation. For kings are but hereditary magistrates, who exist merely for the happiness of the nations—not nations for the satisfaction of kings. It is this same spirit of hatred which has decreed that the Emperor Napoleon is not to be allowed to write or receive any letter which has not been opened and read by the English officers at St. Helena. By this means, he has been prevented from receiving any account of his mother, his wife, his son, or his brothers, and when he wished to free himself from the inconvenience of his letters being read by subaltern officers, and endeavoured for this purpose to send a sealed letter to the Prince Regent, he received for answer that only unsealed letters could be received; that such were the

instructions of the ministry. This measure must give strange ideas of the spirit of the administration by which it was dictated; it would not have been acknowledged at Algiers. Letters arrived for general officers in the service of the Emperor, they were opened, and sent to you; you detained them because they did not pass through the English ministry; they were obliged to perform a journey of four thousand leagues, and these officers had the pain of knowing that there were, on this rock, accounts of their wives, their mothers, and their children, and that they would be obliged to wait six months before hearing them. We have not been allowed to subscribe to the 'Morning Chronicle,' to the 'Morning Post,' and to some French newspapers. From time to time, some copies of 'the Times,' have been sent to Longwood. When we asked on board the Northumberland, some books were sent us; but all those relating to the affairs of the last few years were carefully kept away. At a later period, we wished to enter into correspondence with a London bookseller, to obtain directly such books as we might require; this was prevented. An English author having written an account of a journey in France, sent you a copy of his work, which he had printed in London, to present it to the Emperor; you did not do so, because it had not come through the medium of the English government. It is said also, that several books forwarded by their authors for the Emperor, have not been given to him, because the address on some was to 'the Emperor

Napoleon,' on others to 'Napoleon the Great.' The English ministry has no right to inflict all these vexations. The law of the British parliament, although unjust, considers the Emperor Napoleon as a prisoner of war, and prisoners of war have never been prevented from subscribing to newspapers, or from receiving books; such a prohibition is as yet only known in the dungeons of the inquisition.

"The island of St. Helena is ten leagues in circumference; it is inaccessible on every side, vessels guard the coast, and sentries are placed along the shore within sight of one another, thus rendering any communication with the sea impossible. There is but one little town, James Town, where vessels touch or get ready for sea. To prevent any individual from escaping from the island, it would be sufficient to blockade the coast by sea and land. By preventing the Emperor from enjoying the liberty of the interior of the island, only one object can be gained, that of depriving him of an opportunity of enjoying a ride or walk of eight or ten miles, the privation of which exercise, according to medical men, will tend to shorten his life.

"The Emperor has been settled at Longwood, which is exposed to every wind, is on a barren soil, uninhabited, without water, and susceptible of no cultivation. There is a space of about 2,000 or 3,000 yards without any cultivation. At a distance of some 600 yards, a camp has been established; another has been placed at about the same distance on the opposite

side, so that, under all the heat of the tropics, on whichever side you turn your eyes, you only see camps. Admiral Malcolm, perceiving of what use a tent would be to the Emperor, caused one to be erected by his sailors about twenty paces from the house; this is the only spot where there is any shade. The Emperor feels himself here compelled to remark that he has had every reason to be satisfied with the spirit which animates both officers and men of the 53rd, as he also was with the crew of the Northumberland.

"The house at Longwood was built to serve as a barn for the Company's farm. At a later period, the deputy-governor of the island had some rooms built there; it served him as a country-house, but was in no respect suitable for a dwelling. The Emperor has been settled there a year; during the whole time, workmen have been employed in and about the house; and he has constantly been subject to the inconvenience and unhealthiness of living in a house in course of building or repair. The room in which he sleeps is too small to contain a bed of an ordinary size; but any additional building would cause the inconvenience of workmen to be prolonged. And yet, in this miserable island there are some beautiful spots, with fine trees, gardens, and tolerable houses, among others Plantation House; but the positive instructions of the ministry forbid you to give up this house, which would have spared you a considerable expense, employed in building at Longwood, cabins covered with pitched paper, which are already out of repair. You have prohibited all

correspondence between us and the inhabitants of the island; you have, in fact, isolated the house of Longwood; you have even perverted our intercourse with the officers of the garrison. You seem then to have taken pains to deprive us of all the resources which even this miserable country offers, and we are just as we should be on the uncultivated and uninhabited rock of Ascension. In the four months, during which you have been here, sir, you have rendered the Emperor's situation much worse. Count Bertrand has already had occasion to remark to you that you were violating even the laws of your legislature—that you were trampling under foot the right of general officers when prisoners of war; you replied that you only recognised the letter of your instructions, and that they were worse still than your conduct appeared to us.

(Signed) "General Count Montholon."

"P.S. I had already signed this letter, sir, when I received yours of the 17th, in which you inclose an estimate concerning an annual sum of £20,000, which you consider necessary for the expenses of the establishment at Longwood, after all the reductions which you have thought it necessary to make. The discussion of this estimate cannot concern us in any respect. The table of the Emperor is scarcely furnished with what is strictly necessary; all the provisions are of bad quality, and four times as dear as at Paris. You require from the Emperor a sum of £12,000 for

all these expenses. I have already had the honour of informing you that the Emperor has no funds at his disposal; that, during the last year, he has neither written nor received any letter, and that he is completely ignorant of everything which has taken place, or which might have taken place, in Europe. Violently carried off to this rock, at a distance of 2,000 leagues from Europe, without being able to receive or write any letters, he is entirely at the discretion of English agents. The Emperor has always desired, and still desires, to bear all his own expenses of every kind, and he will do so as soon as you make it possible, by removing the prohibition to the merchants of the island with reference to conveying his correspondence; and as soon as he is certain of its being submitted to no examination from you or any of your agents. As soon as the necessities of the Emperor become known in Europe, those who take an interest in him will send him the necessary funds.

"The letter of Lord Bathurst, which you have communicated to me, gives rise to strange ideas. Were your ministers ignorant that the sight of a great man struggling with adversity is a most sublime sight? Were they ignorant that Napoleon at St. Helena, in the midst of persecutions of all kinds, which he meets with never-changing serenity, is greater, more sacred, more venerable, than upon the first throne in the world, where he was so long the arbiter of kings? Those who fail in respect to Napoleon in such a situa-

tion, merely debase their own character, and the nation which they represent.

(Signed) "General Count Montholon."

Sir Hudson Lowe answered, that he begged me to inform him, what letters had been intercepted, and that as General Bonaparte declared that he did not wish to receive any visits, except by the mediation of General Bertrand, he must necessarily conclude, that any other manner of visitors arriving at Longwood was disagreeable to him—that he should, therefore, take measures to prevent any visitor of importance from entering into the domain of Longwood in future. What irony!

It was the 3rd of September; the Emperor remarked upon this on reading the date of the despatch which I communicated to him. He was in the drawing-room, sitting before a large fire, and said to us:

"It is to-day the anniversary of a hideous remembrance, the massacres of September, the St. Bartholomew of the French Revolution; a bloody stain, which was the act of the Commune of Paris, a rival power to the legislature, which built its strength upon the passions of the dregs of the people. I often asked Roederer, who was procureur-general, for an explanation of this massacre, commenced without any apparent cause: he always answered, that it was an act of fanaticism, the commune neither called it forth nor protected it, and merely let it alone, because it would have compromised itself had it endeavoured to pre-

vent it. The Septembriseurs did not pillage; they only wished to murder, and they even hanged one of their own number, for having appropriated a watch which belonged to one of their victims. They danced like cannibals around the still palpitating body of the Princess de Lamballe, while devouring her heart.

"We must acknowledge, that there has been no political change, without a fit of popular vengeance, as soon as, for any cause whatever, the mass of the people enter into action.

"The Prussian army had arrived within forty leagues of Paris, the famous manifesto of the Duke of Brunswick was to be seen on all the walls of the city, the people had persuaded themselves, that the first pledge of the safety of the revolution was the death of all the royalists. They ran to the prisons, and intoxicated themselves with blood, to the cry of '*Vive la Revolution.*' Their energy had an electric effect, by the fear with which it inspired the one party, and the example which it gave to the other: 100,000 volunteers joined the army, and the revolution was saved.

"I might have saved my crown, by letting loose the people against the men of the Restoration. You well recollect, Montholon, when, at the head of your regiments of *faubouriens*, you wished to punish the treachery of Fouché, and to proclaim my dictatorship—I did not choose to do so: my whole being revolted at the thought of being king of another Jacquerie.

" General rule: no social revolution without terror. Every revolution is in principle a revolt, which time and success ennoble and render legal, but of which terror has been one of the inevitable phases. How, indeed, can we understand, that one could say to those who possess fortune and public situations, ' Begone, and leave us your fortunes and your situations!' without first intimidating them and rendering any defence impossible. The reign of terror began, in fact, in the night of the 4th of August, when privileges, nobility, tithes, the remains of the feudal system, and the fortune of the clergy were done away with, and all these remains of the old monarchy were thrown to the people. Then only did the people understand the revolution, because it gained something and wished to preserve it, even at the expense of blood. Till this time, a considerable part of the population of the country had believed, that without a king and the tithes for the clergy, the harvest could not be good.

" Barrère said, truly, ' Le peuple bat monnaie sur la place Louis XVI.;" alluding to the guillotine which enriched the national treasury, by the death of the nobles, whose wealth became the property of the nation. A revolution is always, whatever some may think, one of the greatest misfortunes with which Divine anger can punish a nation. It is the scourge of the generation which brings it about; and for a long course of years, even a century, it is the misfortune of all, the advantage of individuals.

"True social happiness consists in regular and peaceful order, in the harmony of every one's relative enjoyments. I gave millions every year to the poor, I made immense sacrifices to aid and assist industry; and yet, France has now more poor than in 1787. The reason is, that revolutions, however well conducted, destroy everything instantaneously, and only reconstruct it after a considerable time. The French revolution was a national convulsion, as irresistible in its effects as an eruption of Vesuvius. When the mysterious fusion which takes place in the entrails of the earth is at such a crisis that an explosion follows, the lava escapes and the eruption takes place. The unperceived workings of the discontent of the people follow exactly the same course; when their sufferings arrive at maturity, a revolution bursts forth.

"I have often heard it said, that Louis XVI. would have been able to consecrate the revolution, and preserve his crown. I do not think so; his education, as well as his personal convictions, made him regard, as belonging lawfully to him, all that of which the nation wished to deprive him, and which he would have been obliged to give up voluntarily, to put an end to the revolutionary movement. M. Necker, whom the favour of the people has denominated a great minister, was incapable of saving the throne; I conversed with him during my journey to Geneva; he was a good chief clerk of the treasury; nothing more. All his ideas of government were only speculations. I believe, however, that a true statesman,

if prime minister under Louis XVI. at his accession to the throne, and governing in a masterly manner, like Cardinal Richelieu, would have been able to save the crown of his master, and satisfy all the reasonable demands of the French people. But at the time when the states were convoked, it was out of the power of man to prevent the revolution. Thus I understood it in my youth, and my opinion has not been changed by what I have learned and seen of royalty. A revolution can neither be made nor prevented. One or several of its children can direct it by dint of victories; its enemies may repress it for a moment by force of arms, but then the fire of revolution glimmers under the ashes, and, sooner or later, the flame kindles again and devours all before it. The Bourbons are greatly deceived if they believe themselves firmly seated on the throne of Hugh Capet. I do not know whether I shall ever again see Paris; but what I know is, that the French people will one day break the sceptre which the enemies of France have confided to Louis XVIII.

"My son will reign, if the popular masses are permitted to act without control; the crown will belong to the Duke of Orleans, if those who are called liberals gain the victory over the people; but then, sooner or later, the people will discover that they have been deceived,—that the white are always white, the blue always blue,—and that there is no guarantee for their true interests, except under the reign of my dynasty, because it is the work of their creation.

"I did not usurp the crown,—I picked it up from the gutter; the people placed it on my head. I wished the name of Frenchman to be the most noble and desirable on the earth. I was king of the people, as the Bourbons are kings of the nobles, under whatever colours they may disguise the banner of their ancestors. When, full of confidence in the sympathy of the nation, I returned from Elba, my advisers insisted that I ought to take notice of some chiefs of the royal party; I constantly refused, answering to those who gave me this advice: 'If I have remained in the hearts of the mass of the people, I have nothing to do with the royalists; if not, what will some more or less avail me to struggle against what would have become the opinion of the nation?'"

The clock struck eleven. The Emperor stopped: we rose. "Gentlemen," said he, "we have had enough of politics for this evening."

The letters which I had laid before the Emperor demanded an answer; but we were always obliged to begin at the beginning, and it was almost impossible to hope for any success whatever from such discussions. Too much bad faith, and, it must be acknowledged, too much talent presided over the composition of the letters which we received from Plantation House; notwithstanding, I received orders to answer them, and on the 9th of September I wrote to the governor the following letter:—

TO THE GOVERNOR.

"Longwood, Sept. 9th, 1816.

"SIR,—I have received your two letters of the 30th of August; one of them I have not been able to communicate. Count Bertrand and myself have several times had the honour of informing you, that we could not undertake anything which should be contrary to the august character of the Emperor. You know better than any one, Sir, how many letters have been sent from the post to Plantation House; you have forgotten, that to the representations which we several times made to you, you answered that your instructions forbade you to let anything come to Longwood, whether letter, books, or pamphlets, except they had passed through the hands of your government. An officer of the Newcastle having brought a letter for Count Las Cases, you retained it, but the officer thinking his delicacy compromised, you afterwards transmitted it, thirty days after its arrival in the island. We feel sure that our families and friends write often to us; hitherto we have received but few of their letters. But it is in virtue of the same principle that you now deny that you kept back books and pamphlets addressed to you, and nevertheless you retain them.

"Your second letter, Sir, of the 30th of August, is no answer to the one which I had the honour of writing to you, in order to protest against the changes which you have effected during the month of August,

and which overthrow the whole basis of our establishment in this country.

"1. 'There is no part of my written instructions more definite, or to which my attention is more pointedly called, than that no person whatever should hold any communication with (the Emperor,) except through my agency.' (You give your instructions a Jewish interpretation; there is nothing in them which justifies or authorizes your conduct. Your predecessor had these instructions, and you had them during the three months preceding the changes which you effected a month ago. In short, it would not have been difficult to you to reconcile your various duties.)

"2. 'I have already acquainted (the Emperor) personally with this.'

"3. 'In addressing all strangers and other persons, except those whose duty might lead them to Longwood, in the first instance to Count Bertrand, (or asking myself,) to ascertain whether (the Emperor) would receive their visit, and in not giving passes except to such persons as had ascertained this point, or were directed to do so, I conceive, &c.'

"4. 'It is not, Sir, in my power to extend such privilege as you require to Count Bertrand, &c.'

"I am obliged, Sir, to inform you,—1st, that you have communicated nothing to the Emperor; 2nd, that for two months you have had no communication with Count Bertrand; 3rd, that we ask no privileges for Count Bertrand, since I only ask the continuation of things as they were nine months ago.

"5. 'I regret to learn that (the Emperor) has been incommoded with the visits, &c.'

"Here is irony, and how bitter!

"Instead of endeavouring to reconcile your various duties, you seem, Sir, resolved to persist in a system of continual vexations. Will this do honour to your character? will it deserve the approbation of your government, and of your nation? Allow me to doubt it.

"Several general officers who arrived by the Cornwallis wished to be presented at Longwood; if you had directed them to Count Bertrand, as you had hitherto done with all strangers who came to the island, they would have been received. You have, no doubt, your reasons for preventing persons of any consideration from coming to Longwood. Allege if you will, as you usually do, the tenour of your instructions, but do not misconstrue the intentions of the Emperor.

"The son of Count Las Cases and Captain Prowtowski went yesterday to the town; an English lieutenant accompanied them thither, and then, conformably with the arrangement which has hitherto existed, left them free to go and see whatever persons they wished. While young Las Cases was conversing with some young ladies, the officer returned, much vexed to be charged with a disagreeable mission, and informed him that he had received orders from you not to lose sight of him. This is contrary to what has hitherto been the practice. It would, I think, be fitting that you should inform us of the changes which you effect. This

is interdicting us entirely from going to the town, and openly violating your instructions. And yet, you know that a person scarcely goes from Longwood to the town once in a month, and no circumstance has occurred which can authorize you in changing the established order. This is pushing persecution to a great length! I cannot conceive what gave occasion to your letter of the 8th of September; I refer, Sir, to the postscript of my letter of the 23rd of August. The Emperor is ill, from the effects of the bad climate and of privations of every kind; and I have not informed him of all the fastidious details which have been communicated to me: all that has now lasted for two months, and should have been terminated long ago, since the postscript of my letter of the 23rd of August is definite. It is time, in short, that this should be at an end, but it seems to be a text for insulting us.

"I have the honour to be, Sir,

"Your most humble and obedient servant,

"General Count de Montholon."

CHAPTER XII.

THE EMPEROR'S PLATE.

THE decision of Sir Hudson Lowe, with reference to the expenses of the establishment at Longwood, had not attained the end at which he aimed; he returned to the charge, and wrote to me again, that it was indispensable that I should place at his disposal the funds necessary for covering the deficit of his responsibility on this point. The Emperor ordered me to send him, as an answer, all his plate, broken into pieces. I thought I saw in this order an impulse of indignation—justifiable, indeed, but the consequence of which would be a daily privation to long fixed habits, and twenty-four hours passed without my having obeyed. The next day, I thought, would make me certain whether this order proceeded from a well-considered and determined will, or from an impulse of the moment. In fact, next morning, when he rose,

the Emperor asked me what I had done; and approving my conduct in awaiting a new command from him, before reducing him to eat off bad English ware, he told me to have only as much plate broken as I thought could be spared, without encroaching upon what was actually necessary for his personal service, and to send it to the town, and sell it.

As soon as Sir Hudson Lowe learned by the telegraph from Longwood, that splendid pieces of table service were being broken up, and that the *maitre d'hotel*, Cipriani, was preparing to take the wrecks of them to the town, there to sell them, and place the produce at the disposal of the commissioner of provisions for Longwood, he hastened at a gallop to Longwood, to tell me that he would oppose this sale to the Jews of James Town; and that if I insisted on the sale taking place, I must send and sell the plate to certain persons whom he would point out to me. On my answering that I certainly should insist on it, he begged me to consider the matter a little more; assuring me, that if it was true that the Emperor had no other resources at St. Helena than the value of his plate, he would refer to his government on the point, and would, in the meantime, provide for all expenses. I requested him to indicate to me the person to whom I should sell, and he named Ibbetson, the commissioner of war. Next morning, Cipriani conveyed to this agent of the government, sixty-five pounds eleven ounces of broken silver. Sir Hudson Lowe was not prepared for the effect which the sight of the wrecks of these

beautiful pieces of plate would produce among the garrison and the population of the island. He was for a moment amazed at it, but his stupor soon changed to rage, and he retaliated the determination shown by the Emperor, by fresh restrictions on the small portion of liberty which we enjoyed. I transcribe these restrictions:

Restrictions made by Sir Hudson Lowe, and communicated to Longwood, the 9th of October, 1816, but which he had already put into execution, by means of various secret orders, since the month of August preceding, and which he never communicated to the English officers on service, being ashamed, no doubt, of their contents.

Text of some changes proposed in the regulations established with regard to the captives at Longwood.

"Art. 1. Longwood, with the road by Hut's Gate, along the mountain, as far as the signal posts near Alarm House, will be established as a limit.

"Art. 2. Sentinels will be stationed at the limits, which no one will be allowed to cross, without the permission of the governor, for the purpose of approaching Longwood, or its garden.

"Art. 3. The route to the left of Hut's Gate, which returns to Longwood by Woodbridge, never having been frequented by General Bonaparte, since the arrival of the governor, the sentinels stationed there will mostly be removed; any time, however,

that he may wish to ride in this direction, he will find no obstacle, if the officer be informed in proper time.

"Art. 4. If he (General Bonaparte) should wish to prolong his walk in some other direction, an officer of the governor's staff (if informed in time), will be ready to accompany him. If the time is too short to inform him, the officer on service at Longwood will fulfil this duty.

"The officer who accompanies him has orders not to approach him, unless called, and not to overlook his walk, except as far as his duty demands; that is to say, to see if, in anything, he departs from the established rules, and in this case respectfully to inform him of it.

"Art. 5. The regulations already in force for the purpose of preventing any communication with any person whatever, without the permission of the governor, are to be strictly enforced. In consequence, *General Bonaparte is required to abstain from entering any house, and from holding any communication with the persons whom he may meet*, (except what is demanded by the usual salutations and civilities, which every one will pay him,) *unless in the presence of an English officer.*

"Art. 6. The persons who, with the consent of General Bonaparte, may always receive from the governor permission to visit him, cannot, notwithstanding this permission, communicate with any other person of his suite, except this is specially expressed.

"Art. 7. At sunset, the enclosure of the garden round Longwood will be regarded as the limits. At this hour, sentinels will be placed all round it, but in such a manner as not to incommode General Bonaparte, by overlooking his person, if he should wish to continue his walk in the garden some time longer. During the night, the sentinels will be placed close to the house, as was before done, and admission will be forbidden until after the sentinels have been withdrawn from the house and garden next morning.

"Art. 8. Any letter for Longwood will be put by the governor into a sealed envelope, and sent to the officer on service, to be by him delivered, sealed, to the officer of General Bonaparte's suite to whom it is addressed, and who, by this means, will be assured that no one except the governor is acquainted with the contents of it.

"In the same manner, any letter from the persons at Longwood must be delivered to the officer on service, in a second envelope, sealed and addressed to the governor, who will engage that no one but himself shall be acquainted with the contents.

"Art. 9. No letter must be written or sent, no communication whatever made, except in the above-mentioned manner. No correspondence must be maintained in the island, except the indispensable communications to the purveyor. The notes containing these must be given, open, to the officer of the guard, whose duty it is to send them to their destination.

"The above-mentioned restrictions will begin to be observed on the 10th of the present month.

"H. LOWE.

"St. Helena, October 9, 1816."

The obligation under which we were to provide for a part of the expenses at Longwood not having been revoked, the Emperor ordered me to have the rest of his plate broken, to send it to the commissioner, and to employ some of the produce of it in purchasing for his table a service of English porcelain or of china, the best that could be found at James Town.

This order had all the appearance of a cool determination, and I ought, perhaps, to have obeyed it; but I knew what the force of habit was with the Emperor, and I knew what a cruel change such a striking one in the service of his table would be to him. I spoke to him of this, and proposed to keep only what was strictly necessary: he approved of my plan; and, on the 5th of November, Cipriani again conveyed to Commissioner Ibbetson broken plate, amounting in weight to eighty-two pounds nine ounces.

This time the blow was again violent to Sir Hudson Lowe, but he made no alteration in our position; and when the produce of the sale was exhausted, again demanded that I should provide for the expenses, under pain of a proportionate reduction in the provisions.

The Emperor, on his side, required that I should persist in what I had said, namely, that his plate was his only resource at St. Helena; and I received, for the

third time, orders to have all the plate broken up, with the exception of twelve covers; fresh remonstrances on my part would have been useless and unbecoming; I refrained from making any, and the Emperor believed himself obeyed.

Four baskets of broken plate, weighing altogether 290lbs. 12oz., were conveyed from Longwood on the 25th of December 1816, and dinner was served on bad china, brought by Cipriani from James Town.

When Sir Hudson Lowe was made acquainted with this third and last dispatch, and the purchase of the china, he saw that he was conquered; came to express to me his lively regret, and plainly showed how much afraid he was of blame from his government: he told me that he only acted on the conviction that we had a great quantity of gold at Longwood; that he had been assured of this; and that he would never have allowed a single piece of plate to be broken, could he have supposed that matters would go so far as to reduce General Bonaparte to eat off dishes like those of the lowest colonist in the island; that he would send immediately to the Cape of Good Hope, and procure a suitable service, until such time as he could receive one from England.

The Emperor was enchanted with the account which I gave him of this communication; but his joy was changed into perfect disgust, when he sat down to his dinner, served on the china brought by Cipriani. The physical effect upon him was such that he ate nothing, and said to me, on leaving the dinner-table, "It must

be allowed, my son, that we are all great children. Can you conceive that I could not conquer my disgust at this badly-served dinner?—I, who when I was young, ate from black dishes; in truth, I am ashamed of myself to-day."

"Let the shame be of short duration," replied I, "for to-morrow your Majesty will dine with appetite." "I hope so," answered he, "for this would be too foolish."

His joy was infantine, when, next morning, Marchand brought to him in the bath, his soupe à la Reine, as usual, in the little silver-gilt bowl which he had been accustomed for many years to see. He could not help thanking me with a smile for my disobedience, and I was greatly put to it to keep my secret till dinner-time; but I kept it, so great was my hope of giving him a few moments of agreeable impression, when he saw his dinner served as usual. I was right; for when we entered the dining-room, he took me by the ear, and said to me, in his joyous tone, "Ha, ha! Mr. Rogue, you took upon yourself yesterday to make me pass an uncomfortable quarter of an hour; it is my turn to-day!"

I confessed to him, that, not being able to resolve to take from him his last luxury, I had put aside what was necessary for his personal service; but that, to make up for this, I had been obliged to take away all the plate used by the grand marshal. He laughed very heartily at the fraud which my solici-

tude for his comfort had suggested to me, and said, "Upon my faith, you have done well! and so much the better, that you have succeeded with this bandit, Lowe, as well as if I had not a silver dish left. As to Bertrand, so much the worse for him, if he has nothing but china! It was his advice which I followed."

The bill of the 16th of April, and the restrictions on our free communications, proved, in fact, how much the English ministry feared the impression which would be made on public opinion, should the true state of affairs at St. Helena become known.

The Emperor had letters sent to the princes and princesses of his family, informing them that he was destitute of the most necessary things—of the comforts of life. They all hastened to offer him the whole or the greater portion of their fortunes. King Joseph opened an account of ten millions; Madame Mère, Queen Hortense, and the Princess Pauline, put all that they had at his disposal. The Princess Eliza wrote that her circumstances were extremely narrow, that she had barely 20,000 francs in stock of disposable property, but that she should be very happy to divide them with her brother. The Princess Catherine of Würtemberg offered an example of the noblest devotedness: she and her husband, King Jerome, offered the Emperor all that they had saved from shipwreck. King Louis also showed a devoted tenderness towards his brother: he put all his fortune

at the disposal of the Emperor, and yet, he was at that very time writing his historical documents on Holland during his reign; a work which deeply displeased Napoleon. It was on this subject that, his mind instantly recurring to the actions which in 1810 accompanied the abdication of the King of Holland, he said to me, "Since my thoughts take me back to Holland, write."*

* This dictation will be found in Chapter XIV

CHAPTER XIII.

REMOVAL OF COUNT LAS CASES.

THESE dictations, in which general history often served, as may be seen, as a preface to his own history and that of his family, were a certain means of calming the mind of the Emperor, by raising him above his present situation, and making him hover above the world, like that eagle which he had taken for his arms, and which will one day again be the arms of France.

But Sir Hudson Lowe was not a man to leave his prisoner long in the enjoyment of the factitious repose given him for a moment by the power of his thoughts.

To the contentions which had arisen on a very material question, graver and more painful ones were now about to succeed. On the 4th of October, the governor, losing all hope of obtaining an audience, in order personally to communicate the instructions which, he said, he had to his great astonishment received, but

which we afterwards knew to have been probably called forth by his reports concerning Longwood, sent to the Emperor, Adjutant-General Sir Thomas Reade, a person so much the more remarked for his gracious and insinuating manners, as they presented a striking contrast with those of the governor.* The Emperor was in the garden when Sir Thomas Reade approached, with all the appearance of a bearer of good news. He began, in fact, by words of peace; and it was not till after he had conversed for a long time in the most respectful tone, that he acquainted the Emperor with Lord Bathurst's orders for the reduction of his per-

* Note from Sir Hudson Lowe.

"The governor's visit was at first dictated by a feeling of respect for General Bonaparte, and with a view to communicate to him some instructions concerning his officers, which ought to be known to him before they were informed of them.

"The governor would have been desirous of personally making this communication to General Bonaparte, in presence of Sir T. Reade, or some other officer of his staff, and of one of the French generals. He has never had any intention of insulting General Bonaparte; on the contrary, he is desirous of reconciling the strictness of his instructions with all that attention and respect which are due to him. He cannot conceive the reason of the resentment manifested by General Bonaparte with respect to him. If the general does not wish to consent to an interview in presence of other persons, the governor will consent to send Sir T. Reade, to communicate to him all that he has to say, leaving some points for future discussion. Should Count Bertrand be sent to the governor, he requires, at least, on his part, some apology for the expressions used by him in their last interview, according to the wish of General Bonaparte himself. The governor is also of opinion that an apology should also be made by Count Bertrand in the name of General Bonaparte himself, in reference to the unbecoming language used by him at the last interview; and

sonal suite, and the necessity that four persons should leave him; informing him, however, at the same time, that Sir Hudson Lowe would not presume to indicate these four persons, and left this point to the decision of the Emperor. We were far from expecting this new misfortune: it was sensibly felt by us all, but more especially by those four of our companions who now found themselves condemned to leave the master whom they loved with entire devotion. These four were, Rousseau, Archambaud, Prowtowski, and Santini. Rousseau and Archambaud, junior, were two losses easy to supply: a second overseer and a house-steward

then he (Sir H. Lowe) will express his regret for any expressions he may have used in reply which have been disagreeable, seeing that, on his part, he has had no intention of giving offence, and only repelled an attack; that, finally, he would not condescend to this course in the case of any other person than one so situated as General Bonaparte; but that he being determined to quarrel with the governor respecting the manner in which he is to execute the orders which he has received, he sees no hope of being able to come to an understanding without mutual apologies."

THE EMPEROR'S REPLY TO SIR HUDSON LOWE'S NOTE.

"Since the governor declares he will not communicate his wishes fully through the medium of the chief of his staff, I will not receive Sir T. Reade; let him send him to Bertrand, Montholon, Las Cases, or Gourgaud. We cannot again meet, after what I said to him in the presence of the admiral, when he pretended that he was only doing his duty: the executioner also does his—but no one is obliged to see him till the moment of execution. I have no wish to renew such scenes. He pretends to be acting merely in conformity with his instructions. A government at a distance of two thousand leagues can give only general instructions as to the manner in which things ought to be conducted; it always leaves a great discretionary power in the hands of its representatives, and it is this power which Sir H. Lowe inter-

were almost useless. Prowtowski had not long joined us: he was a Polish officer of the Isle of Elba, whom his devotion to the Emperor had brought to St. Helena; but his military rank had never brought him into a sufficiently near intercourse with the Emperor for his departure to be a social loss. These three, then, we could, although we regretted them, spare without much difficulty. But Santini had for years been brought into daily intercourse with his master: he was a Corsican, a nephew of the Bishop of Ajaccio, and much raised above his rank by his education and talents; his devotion to the Emperor knew no bounds; and it was, perhaps, this excessive devotion, which induced the Emperor to point him out as one of the four who

prets by the measure of his hatred towards me, that he may make it as oppressive as possible, and subject me to torture. Evident proof of this man's being worse than his government, is to be found in the fact of many things having been sent from England for my use and convenience by the ministry, who thus testify their desire to be agreeable, and to solace my captivity. Sir H. Lowe has written to me many letters full of respect, and expressive of his desire to do what might be agreeable to me; finally, he affects to entertain the strongest feelings of respect towards me, but this is merely the better to deceive his government. If he does not wish to see Bertrand, why does he not see Montholon or Las Cases? But the same feelings which he entertains towards Bertrand, for having told him some disagreeable truths from me, he indulges towards Montholon, in consequence of his letter of the 22nd of August; and towards Las Cases, for having written to a lady in London some account of the state of affairs at Longwood.

"I expect that this famous communication is, in fact, nothing but some new outrage—at least, as I am assured, the forcible removal of one or of all the officers of my household.

"In a word, let the governor execute his orders, and leave me in peace."

were to quit St. Helena. Santini was, as we have said, a Corsican, and consequently entirely devoted to the august fellow-countryman, whose birth made his country the most famed of islands. The traditions of revenge amongst which he had been educated, and which had followed him from his mountains to St. Helena, and the sun of the equator, were not calculated to calm his half Italian, half French blood, which was every day heated by fresh outrages. It was with great difficulty that the Emperor had obtained from him a solemn promise to renounce a project which he had formed, one fine morning, of lying in wait for Sir Hudson Lowe, at the turn of a road, and killing him, as his countrymen were in the habit of doing with their enemies. When this project had been discovered by the Emperor, Santini had faithfully promised to renounce it; but with an organization so excitable as his, a good opportunity would indubitably have broken the bonds of an oath: the Emperor did not, therefore, hesitate to separate himself from this faithful servant, rather than remain exposed to the terrible consequences of a devotedness which he found it so difficult to control.

"On the 18th of October, Prowtowski, Santini, Rousseau, and Archambaud, junior, quitted Longwood, and embarked: a most minute search was made of their luggage and persons; we were even assured that they had been entirely undressed, but nothing suspicious was found. We expected that this search would be made, and had besides too many other means

of communicating secretly with Europe to run the risk of uselessly rendering the position of these honest fellows more unpleasant. Prowtowski and Santini went to England; Rousseau and Archambaud, to America, where they were received by Count Survilliers. All the four took with them from Longwood testimonies of the Emperor's satisfaction with their services: their independence was secured.

But this loss was nothing, compared to that which we were soon doomed to suffer, by one of those sudden and unadvised fits of anger so common to Sir Hudson Lowe. On the 25th of November, 1816, we had just left the breakfast table, and Count Las Cases was staying with the Emperor, for the purpose of finishing some writing which had been begun, when Sir Hudson Lowe arrived at Longwood, accompanied by the adjutant-general, Sir Thomas Reade, the aides-de-camp, Gorriquer and Pritchard, and a commissary of police. The governor and Major Gorriquer stopped at some distance from the house, while Sir Thomas Reade, the commissary, Aide-de-camp Pritchard, and two dragoons, approached the apartments of Count Las Cases, and took possession of them in his absence. Sir Thomas Reade, seeing the apartment empty, sent the commissary for Count Las Cases, and learning that he was with the Emperor, he sent to inform him that he wished to speak to him immediately, as he had a message from the governor. Although, as we have already said, Count Las Cases was at that moment writing, from the Emperor's dictation, his Majesty allowed him to go; but just as he went out, the com-

missary of police, who had advanced to the door of the house, arrested him. Meanwhile, the aide-de-camp Pritchard proceeded to seize all the papers which he found in Las Cases' apartment; so that the Count's removal from Longwood, and the subtraction of all his papers, was only the affair of a few moments, and he was far from us before we learned what had passed.

Sir Hudson Lowe, beaming with joy, met Doctor O'Meara on the road, and called out to him immediately on perceiving him: "*Your friend, Las Cases, is in safety! you will meet him presently!*" And in fact, a short time after, the doctor met the Count, between two dragoons, and under the conduct of Captain Pritchard, who was taking him a prisoner to Hut's Gate.

The pretext for this arbitrary and inexcusable arrest, was a letter written by Count Las Cases to Lady Clavering, containing an account of the Emperor's situation, addressed to Prince Lucien, and entrusted to a mulatto servant, to be sent to Europe without passing through the hands of Sir Hudson Lowe.

Some time before this event, Count Las Cases had attempted to send a letter to Lady Clavering, privately, to Europe, by means of this same mulatto; but the governor had discovered this, had threatened the brave fellow with a flogging if he again attempted such a thing, and had spoken of the matter to Count Las Cases, assuring him, that it was solely through regard for him that he refrained from executing, in the case of his domestic, the orders which condemned to this chastisement any mulatto or slave infringing the restrictions published concerning Longwood.

Count Las Cases expected great effects from the memorial which he had addressed to Prince Lucien, on the state of things at St. Helena; and although the Emperor, to whom he had submitted it, had strongly urged him to renounce his project, and, above all, not to employ his former messenger, he persisted in his design. His resolution was taken to send his mulatto to England; and everything being arranged between them, and the letters, written on silk, having been sowed into the lining of the mulatto's dress, the count pretended to dismiss him from his service. This man, named Sosté, was to avail himself of the first opportunity of embarking for England, which he said he should easily be able to do, when he no longer belonged to the establishment at Longwood; but, if he loved his master and his gold, it would seem that he had still more love for his own skin; for he had scarcely received the letters and money when he hastened to Plantation House, delivered the letters into the governor's hands, and confessed everything that his master had arranged with him.

When the Emperor was informed of Las Cases' arrest, and the causes which had led to it, he shrugged his shoulders, and cried: "How could a man of so much sense as Las Cases choose for his secret agent a mulatto, who can neither read nor write, and think of sending him to England, where he has never been, and where he knows no one? and besides, how could he hope that this man would obtain permission to embark, after just leaving Longwood? Truly, all this

is worthy of the imagination of a schoolboy." The grand marshal immediately received orders to go to Plantation House, and claim all papers belonging to the Emperor which might be among those seized in the apartment of Count Las Cases, and especially the first dictations on the campaigns in Italy. He was charged, at the same time, to protest against the arrest of Count Las Cases. Bertrand went immediately to James Town, and presented to Sir Hudson Lowe the reclamation with which he was charged. The governor listened to him with more deference than he had expected. A regular inventory was made of all the papers which had been seized, and the governor consented to return those claimed by General Bertrand; but Count Las Cases appeared to attach such great value to the imperial dictations, that General Bertrand took upon himself to leave in his possession those which he did not think indispensable to the Emperor's work: it was this circumstance which determined the English government to retain, till the death of the Emperor, the papers seized in the apartments of Count Las Cases, and to exact, in 1821, the written consent of his testamentary executors, before delivering them to Count Las Cases. General Bertrand and myself, on our return to England, in 1821, were required to be present at the breaking of the seals and delivery of these papers by Lord Bathurst to Lord Holland, for the Count Las Cases. We remarked that his journal was written with a broad margin, and that the last page bore the number 925.

But it was not so easy to obtain the liberation of Count Las Cases as to get back the papers; the grand marshal might claim the prisoner as he would, he was not given up, notwithstanding the marshal's often reiterated demands. The Emperor, seeing that his ambassador's conferences at Plantation House produced no effect, determined to make a last effort to bring back the count to Longwood; he hoped that a brilliant testimony of the value which he attached to his services, would stop Sir Hudson Lowe in his proceedings, through fear of the blame to which he would be exposed from public opinion in England, should it become known there that so valuable an attendant had been taken from the Emperor by a savage and unjustifiable impulse of anger.

In consequence of this determination, he wrote to Count Las Cases, on the 12th of December, 1816, as follows:

"My dear Count Las Cases,

"My heart is deeply sensible of what you are suffering. Torn from me seventeen or eighteen days ago, you are secretly imprisoned, and I can neither hear from you, nor send you news of myself; you have not been allowed to communicate with any one, either French or English, and are even deprived of a servant of your own choice.

"Your conduct at St. Helena has been, like your life, honourable and blameless; I have pleasure in telling you so.

"Your letter to your friend in London contains nothing reprehensible; you there poured out your heart into the bosom of friendship: this letter is like the eight or ten others which you sent open. The governor of this island, having had the indelicacy to scrutinize the expressions which you confided to friendship, reproached you with them;—lastly, he threatened to send you from the island, if your letters contained any more complaints. In acting thus, he violated the first duty of his post, the first article of his restrictions, and the first sentiment of honour. He thus authorized you to seek some means of opening your heart to your friends, and of acquainting them with the guilty conduct of the governor. But you are incapable of artifice; it was easy to surprise your confidence.

"A pretext was wanted for seizing your papers. A letter to your friend in London could not authorize a police visit to your apartment; for this letter contains no plot, no mystery; it is but the outpouring of an open and noble heart. The illegal and precipitate conduct pursued on this occasion bears the character of a mean and personal hatred.

"In the least civilized countries, exiles, prisoners, and even criminals, are under the protection of the laws or magistrates. The persons appointed to guard them have superiors, either in the administration or in the judicial order, who inspect their conduct; but here, on this rock, the same man who makes the most absurd regulations, executes them with violence and

transgresses all laws, and there is no one to restrain the excess of his caprice.

"Longwood is wrapped in a veil which he would fain make impenetrable, in order to hide criminal conduct. This peculiar care to conceal matters gives room to suspect the most odious intentions.

"False rumours have been spread, for the purpose of deceiving the officers, strangers, and inhabitants of this island, and even the foreign agents, who they say are kept here by Austria and Russia. The English government is certainly deceived, in the same manner, by cunning and false information.

"Your papers, amongst which it was well known that there were some belonging to me, were seized, without any formality, close to my apartment, and with expressions of ferocious joy. I was informed of this some few moments afterwards. I looked through the window, and saw them taking you away. A numerous staff pranced about you. I imagined I saw some South Sea Islanders dancing round the prisoners whom they were about to devour.

"Your services were necessary to me; you alone could read, speak, and understand English. Nevertheless, I request you, and in case of need, command you, to require the governor to send you to the continent. He cannot refuse, because he has no power over you, except through the voluntary document which you signed. It would be a great consolation to me to know that you were on your way to more happy countries.

"When you arrive in Europe, whether you go to England or return to France, forget the misfortunes to which you have been subjected. Boast of the fidelity you showed me, and all the affection I bore you.

"If you should some day see my wife and my son, embrace them, from me. For two years I have had no news from them, direct or indirect. A German botanist, who saw them a few days before his departure, in the garden of Schönbrunn, has been residing here for six months, but the barbarians will not allow him to come and tell me what he knows of them.

"And, lastly, be consoled, and console my friends. My body is, it is true, in the power of my enemies' hatred, and they neglect nothing which may gratify their vengeance. They are killing me by slow degrees; but Providence is too just to allow this to be much prolonged. The unhealthiness of this destroying climate, and the want of everything which sustains and animates life, will soon, I feel it, put an end to an existence, whose last moments will be the disgrace of the English character. Europe will one day point with horror at the hypocritical and wicked man, whom true Englishmen will disown as a countryman.

"As all circumstances incline me to think that you will not be permitted to come and see me before your departure, receive my embraces and the assurances of my esteem and friendship. Be happy!

"Yours affectionately,

(Signed) "NAPOLEON."

But this letter, sent sealed, though under cover to Sir Hudson Lowe, was returned to the grand marshal, as being a violation of the restrictions. General Bertrand, who had obtained permission to see Count Las Cases whenever he wished, was obliged to take it to him himself. The wished for effect was produced on Sir Hudson Lowe, as soon as he saw the terms in which the Emperor expressed his regret.

He offered to let Las Cases return to Longwood, and assured us that if he had better understood the privation which the departure of this attendant would impose on the Emperor, he would have refrained from detaining him a single day from his service. Our joy on the grand marshal's receiving this communication was extreme; for we all loved the well-informed and good man, whom we had pleasure in venerating as a mentor. Unfortunately, however, Count Las Cases, influenced by an extreme susceptibility of honour, thought himself bound to refuse the governor's offer; he felt himself too deeply outraged by the insult: he explained this to the grand marshal, and we were obliged to renounce the hope of again seeing him among us. It was in vain that the Emperor sent Bertrand and Gourgaud to persuade him to renounce his determination: he was resolved to leave the island; and on the 29th of December, 1816, he quitted St. Helena, in the brig Griffin, and proceeded to the Cape of Good Hope, there to await permission to return to Europe.

He was an immense loss to us, and we regretted

him long; his virtues, his information, his mind, at the same time pliant and commanding, made him a valuable companion in the land of exile. His devotion to the Emperor never flagged; and it may be said with truth, that his thoughts were the same in Europe as at St. Helena, entirely occupied in the service of the Emperor.

It was apropos of the memorial which Count Las Cases addressed to Prince Lucien, and which caused the catastrophe which we have just related, that the Emperor, speaking of the poem of "Charlemagne," written by his brother, made the following remarks, which I hastened to put on paper, as a proof of that sureness and decision of mind which he possessed, in literature as in everything else:

"How much labour and mind badly employed! Twenty thousand lines, without character or object. When Voltaire, who was a master of his language and of poetry, made shipwreck with his Henriade, in Paris, in the midst of the sanctuary, how could Lucien, whose first thoughts were in Italian, believe that it was possible for him to write a French poem in Rome, where his mind was under the daily influence of a foreign language and foreign poetry? Still more, how could he venture to pretend to create a new rhythm? He composed a bad history in bad verse; but he did not write an epic poem. An epic poem cannot be made subservient to the history of a particular man; but must be the historian of a remote and a great event.

"Lucien, perhaps, may have wished to write a

work of re-action! How could he indulge the illusion of believing that he was about to restore the power of Rome? How can one admit that he consecrated twenty thousand lines to preach absurdities which no longer belong to the age; to defend prejudices which he can no longer entertain?—and he, above all—all whose opinions are controlled and regulated by the theory of republicanism!

"What a perversity of mind! What he could really have done, is a history of Italy. He possesses the necessary talents, facility, skill, and aptitude for labour; he is at Rome in the midst of the richest materials; his rank, his social relations, and the favour of the Pope, furnish the means of the most complete success in his researches, with a view to throw light upon the most hidden mysteries of history. He could have made a real offering to knowledge, and won an immortal reputation. He has preferred ridicule.

"This passion of Lucien, and others of my family, for writing poetry and romance is something quite inexplicable — Louis and Elisa write romances! There may be clearness and interest in Louis's romances, but by far the greater part will consist of sentimental metaphysics and philosophical absurdity. As to Elisa, I am at fault if she does not give us the sequel of the Monk."

Then, apropos of Charlemagne, the Emperor, passing from poetry to politics, said to me:

"My object was to destroy the whole of the feudal system, as organized by Charlemagne. With this view,

I created a nobility from among the people, in order to swallow up the remains of the feudal nobility. The foundations of my ideas of fitness were abilities and personal worth; and I selected the son of a farmer or an artisan to make a duke or a marshal of France. I sought for true merit among all ranks of the great mass of the French people, and was anxious to organize a true and general system of equality. I was desirous that every Frenchman should be admissible to all the employments and dignities of the state, provided he was possessed of talents and character equal to the performance of the duties, whatever might be his family. In a word, I was eager to abolish, to the last trace, the privileges of the ancient nobility, and to establish a government, which at the same time that it held the reins of government with a firm hand, should still be a *popular government.* The oligarchs of every country in Europe soon perceived my design, and it was for this reason that war to the death was carried on against me by England. The noble families of London, as well as those of Vienna, think themselves prescriptively entitled to the occupation of all the important offices in the state, and the management and handling of the public money. Their birth is regarded by them as a substitute for talents and capacities; and it is enough for a man to be the son of his father, to be fit to fulfil the duties of the most important employments and highest dignities of the state. They are somewhat like kings by divine right; the people are in their eyes merely milch cows,

about whose real interests they feel no concern, provided the treasury is always full, and the crown resplendent with jewels.

"In short, in establishing a hereditary nobility, I had three objects in view:

"1st. To reconcile France with the rest of Europe.

"2ndly. To reconcile old with new France.

"3rdly. To put an end to all feudal institutions in Europe, by re-connecting the idea of nobility with that of public services, and detaching it from all prescriptive or feudal notions.

"The whole of Europe was governed by nobles who were strongly opposed to the progress of the French revolution, and who exercised an influence which proved a serious obstacle to the development of French principles. It was necessary to destroy this influence, and with that view to clothe the principal personages of the empire with titles equal to theirs. The success was complete: from that time forward the nobility of Europe ceased to be opposed to France, and with secret joy witnessed the creation of a new nobility, which appeared inferior to the ancient merely because it was new; they did not foresee the consequences of the French system, which tended to depreciate and uproot the feudal nobility, or at least to compel its members to reconstitute themselves by a new title.

"The ancient nobility of France, on their restoration to their country and to a part of their estates, eagerly resumed all their titles; and, although not legally, yet

in fact, considered themselves more than ever as a privileged class: every attempt at fusion or amalgamation with the chiefs of the revolution was attended with difficulties, which were at once completely removed by the creation of new titles. There were none of the ancient families which did not willingly form alliances with the new dukes; in fact, the Noailles, Corbelts, Louvois, and Fleurys, were new houses, creations of Louis XIV. and Louis XV. From their origin, the most ancient houses in France sought for their alliance, and in this way the families of the revolution were consolidated, and old and new France reunited. It was particularly with this view that I conferred the first title on Marshal Lefebvre. The marshal had been a common soldier, and every one in Paris had known him as a sergeant in the French guards.

"My plan was to re-construct the ancient nobility of France. Every family which reckoned among the number of its ancestors a cardinal, a great officer of the crown, a marshal of France, chancellor, keeper of the seals, minister, &c., was entitled on that account to sue for the title of duke. You, Montholon, for example, would have been a duke, because you were descended from chancellors and keepers of the great seal of France. Every family which had had an archbishop, ambassador, chief president, lieutenant-general, or vice-admiral, the title of count: every family which had had a bishop, major-general, rear-admiral, councillor of state, or president of parliament, the title of baron.

These titles would not have been encumbered with any other charge than an obligation on the part of the claimants to provide a fixed income for the eldest son, of 100,000 francs for a duke, 30,000 for a count, and 10,000 for a baron. This principle was to form a rule for the past and the present, and intended also as a standard for the future. From this plan there sprung up an historical nobility which united the past, the present, and the future; and was founded, not upon any distinctions of blood, which constitute an imaginary nobility, inasmuch as there is only one race of men, but upon services done to the state. In the same manner, therefore, the son of a peasant might say to himself, 'I shall one day be a cardinal, marshal of France, or minister;' so might he on this principle say, 'I shall one day be a duke, count, or baron,' as he may now say, 'I shall follow commerce, and gain millions for my family.' A Montmorency would have been made a duke, not because he was a Montmorency, but because one of his ancestors had been constable of France, and rendered important services to the state. This changed the whole nature of the nobility, which had been hitherto feudal, and established on its ruins an historical nobility, founded upon the claims of its possessors to the love of their country or the respect of their sovereign. This idea, like that of the Legion of Honour, and the university, was in itself eminently liberal, well calculated, at the time, to consolidate social order and to annihilate the pride of the nobility. It at once

destroyed the pretensions of the oligarchy, and maintained in all their integrity the dignity and legal rights of mankind. It was a creation, organizing a liberal idea, and completely characteristic of the new age. I never had recourse to precipitation in the execution of any of my projects, always believing I had time before me. I often said to my council of state, that I required twenty years for the accomplishment of my plans; but I have only had fifteen."

The grand marshal had been established in the neighbourhood of Longwood since the 20th of October, 1816, a house had been built for him after his own plan, at 240 feet from the Emperor's dwelling, and close to the piece of land which separated us from the camp of Dead Wood, so that he was about half-way to the camp. This house was one of the dependencies of the new house which was being built for the Emperor, but as long as his Majesty occupied the old Longwood, we were, in fact, as far from the grand marshal after six o'clock in the evening, as we were when he lived at Hut's Gate, for after this hour, no communication could be had with him, without being accompanied by an English soldier with his bayonet constantly in rest, and ready to pierce the heart of the first person who should attempt to pass through a double line of sentinels, separating his house from ours.

All these events produced, as may be imagined, a change in the Emperor's habits; he divided the work which there was to do between General Gourgaud

and myself. It was at this epoch that he again took up with General Gourgaud the history of the Italian campaigns, a work which he had at first intended to be performed by General Bertrand, and which, interrupted a second time by the departure of General Gourgaud, who in his turn quitted us for the purpose of returning to Europe, was entirely dictated to me, towards the close of the year 1819.

As regards the work commenced by Las Cases, it was added to that which I already had. I received, besides, the charge of the archives and that of secretary to the cabinet.

Thus, after some time, affairs had again fallen into their usual routine.

But it was impossible for Sir Hudson Lowe to let himself be forgotten, and the Emperor endeavoured in vain to forget, in occupation, the unworthy annoyances of which he was the constant subject. One day I was writing from his dictation, when the valet-de-chambre on duty came to inform him that the governor had, for the last half-hour, been insisting on entering the Emperor's room, in order to assure himself with his own eyes that he had not escaped. The valet had resisted, but Sir Hudson Lowe had dared to forget all propriety so far as to say, that he would have the doors forced if they persisted in not opening them to him. It was then only that Noverras resolved to come and disturb his royal

master, whom he knew to be occupied in dictating to me; and I must remark here, that the Emperor was so devotedly loved by his attendants, that there was not one among them, who, completely associating themselves with his sufferings, would not have sacrificed himself to spare him the slightest one of them. Noverras knew the blow which this affair would be to the Emperor, and therefore it was not till the very last extremity that he consented to bring him Sir Hudson Lowe's message. The Emperor listened with contemptuous indifference, and turning round, said:

"Tell my gaoler that it is in his power to change his keys for the hatchet of the executioner, and that if he enters, it shall be over a corpse. Give me my pistols."

Sir Hudson Lowe heard this answer, and retired confounded; but the blow was struck, and the day was lost for work. The Emperor had, besides, been very unwell for some days, and this was the only cause which had prevented the English officers from seeing him, for, notwithstanding the care which he took not to obey officially the hateful exactions of Sir Hudson Lowe, he almost always managed matters so that the officer of ordnance at Longwood, or the commander of the guard, called a guard of honour, should conceal in his report the ramblings of a prepossession, which was every day more rapidly being transformed into furious madness.

General Gourgaud frequently met in his rides

Count Balmin, the Russian commissioner, and their conversation was always of more or less interest; the account of it which the general gave to the Emperor, generally carried back his thoughts to events which distracted his mind from the concerns of Longwood.

It happened fortunately, that on this very day, the general, on his return from riding, brought him some important news, which instantaneously effaced the remembrance of the scandalous scene just enacted by Sir Hudson Lowe. Count Balmin had received letters from St. Petersburg, the contents of which he could not communicate, but which authorized him to make known at Longwood, that the Emperor Alexander regretted that any misunderstanding should have broken the bonds of a friendship to which he attached great value, and sincerely desired that explanations, to which he was willing to give rise, should justify his regret, and make it a duty of friendship for him to lend the Emperor Napoleon all the aid of his powerful intervention.

A calm succeeded the storm of the preceding day; and for some few days we spoke no more of Sir Hudson Lowe. The Emperor continued his usual labours. Gourgaud and I did all in our power to keep him occupied, by always taking care to have his dictations copied before the hour of going to him. In fact, his first dictation was the expression of his recollections, uttered without reflection or classification, and it was necessary carefully to avoid making him observe its disorder or incoherence, for this produced on the flow

of his thoughts the instantaneous effect of the breaking the principal spring in a watch.

It was absolutely necessary to write as quick as he spoke, and never to make him repeat even the last word; and he generally dictated in this manner for several hours together his recollections of his campaigns, or of the principal events of his reign.

The copy of his first dictation served him as notes for the second, and the copy of this second became the subject of his own personal work; he corrected it with his own hand, but unfortunately, almost always in pencil, because he found it more convenient to write with a pencil, and because, besides, he did not in this case soil his fingers with ink, which he never failed to do when he used a pen. And it is well known that there were few handsome women more vain of their pretty hands than the Emperor was of his; and with justice, for his hands and feet were remarkable for their smallness and elegant shape; few women would have hesitated to change with him the whiteness and colour of his skin, wherever the sun-burning of battle fields had not changed its nature.

"What have you done, Mr. Idler?" was his salutataion when we entered his cabinet to commence our labours, and a kind smile was the reward of the work presented to him. "Come then," said he, "let us work if you will have it so, and perhaps we may succeed in forgetting the Brigand Lowe."

As the thoughts of the Emperor constantly took him back to France, he dictated to me, about this

time, the considerations which will be found in the second volume.

The heat of the season increased rapidly; the water at Longwood became unfit for drinking, it stagnated in the reservoirs, and we were already obliged to send the horses to water more than a mile beyond the limits of the grounds. There was no water to supply the Emperor's baths, and I wrote to that effect to Sir Hudson Lowe. He promised to take all the necessary steps to supply Longwood with water, and immediately entered upon the execution of the great works which he afterwards finished. This, however, did not remedy our present privation, and years elapsed before a sufficient supply of water was provided. The unfortunate soldiers in the camp at Dead Wood received the water merely by pails, and were thus exposed to dreadful sufferings.

Towards the middle of December, Sir Thomas Strange, judge of the supreme court in Calcutta, having called at St. Helena on his return from England, made a request through Sir H. Lowe to be allowed to pay his respects to the Emperor; he was not, however, received. The impression of the forcible removal of Las Cases was still too recent: "Tell the governor," said the Emperor to the grand marshal, "that those who have gone down to the tomb receive no visits; and take care that the judge be made acquainted with my answer."

On receiving the message from General Bertrand, Sir Hudson Lowe was unable to restrain his anger, and

gave way to violent passion; but the conduct of Sir Thomas Reade was, if possible, still more extravagant, and it has been said, that on this occasion he made use of the following expressions: "If I were governor, I would bring that dog of a Frenchman to his senses; I would isolate him from his friends, who are no better than himself; then I would deprive him of his books. He is, in fact, nothing but a miserable outlaw, and I would treat him as such. By G—, it would be a great service to the King of France to rid him of such a fellow altogether. It was a piece of great cowardice not to have sent him at once to a court-martial, instead of sending him here."

Such were the men by whom Sir Hudson Lowe was surrounded.

The vessel which was conveying Prowtowski and the servants of whom we had been deprived in the month of October, to Europe, had just cast anchor in the roadstead of St. James, on her return from the Cape of Good Hope, whither those poor devils had been first sent, from a refinement in barbarity. They had been thus obliged to traverse 2,000 leagues of a sea proverbial for its fury, especially in the neighbourhood of the Cape, which, I know not for what reason, is at present called the Cape of Good Hope, but which the early navigators with greater reason called "Stormy Cape."

Archambaud obtained leave to go on board, and embrace his young brother for the last time. Through him we were made acquainted with all the privations to

which these unfortunate persons were subjected, as a punishment for their devotedness to their master.

The health of the Emperor began to change; want of exercise sensibly affected the lymphatic system. O'Meara became uneasy, and expressed his feelings in his reports. The commissioners spoke on the subject to the governor; their instructions were formal; they wished to be made acquainted with the state of the prisoner's health, and required that all means compatible with the security of his person should be taken by the governor, in order to prevent the consequences to his health, which might result from want of proper exercise.

Sir H. Lowe was excited by this step on the part of the commissioners. It was wholly unexpected, especially as he believed himself to be sure of their readiness to yield to all his wishes. It is true, that nothing could be more complete than his influence over the Austrian commissioner, who was a mere cipher, and with regard to the Russian and French commissioners, the former was desperately in love with Miss Johnson, and his whole time and attention were occupied in endeavouring to make himself agreeable to this charming young lady; the latter, the Marquis de Montchenu, was too fond of the good dinners at Plantation house to be capable of exercising the slightest independence; he was deceived, and afterwards discovered that he was so. It was on this occasion that Sir H. Lowe said: "I am about to arrange matters in such a way, as to allow him to

take horse exercise; I have no wish that he should die of an attack of apoplexy—that would be very embarrassing both to me and the government; I would much rather he should die of a tedious disease which our physicians could properly declare to be natural. Apoplexy furnishes too many grounds for comment."

CHAPTER XIV.

KING LOUIS AND HOLLAND.*

"BROUGHT to France when fourteen years old, Louis entered upon the life of a man at the siege of Toulon, in hearing me say to him, in the midst of the corpses of two hundred grenadiers, slain through the ignorance of their general, at the assault of an impregnable side of Fort Pharon: 'If I had commanded here, all these brave men would still be alive. Learn, Louis, from this example, how absolutely necessary instruction is to those who aspire to the command of others.' The first time that I took him within cannon-shot was at the attack on Saorgio; he persisted in placing himself before me, in order to defend me from the enemy's balls; another time, happening to be in a battery at Barbette, against which a very sharp fire was then directed, he remained constantly standing with his head erect, although the cannoniers were

* The following is the dictation referred to at the close of Chapter XII.

sheltering themselves as much as possible; and when I asked him the reason, he answered: 'You told me that an artillery officer should not fear cannon; they are our weapons—I follow your example.'

"The youth of the schools, such as that of Paris, gloried then in their anti-republican principles, and above all, ostentatiously affected regrets and sympathies for the social forms which had been replaced by republican customs. Bernardin de St. Pierre and Jean Jacques were the favourite authors of these youths, who understood nothing of the crisis of 1793, but the horror of its crimes, and of all the blood shed to the cry of, 'Vive la République!' The public places of large towns were continually the scenes of terrible struggles between the young aristocracy and the men of the people whom the revolution had taken from their labour, to transform them into orators or frequenters of clubs.

"These impressions of his childhood easily took a firm hold on a character naturally virtuous, and susceptible of everything honourable and pure. As early as the age of eighteen, Louis regretted seeing himself thrown into a stormy life, and already sighed for retirement. I remarked this with uneasiness, and also all the contrasts of his character, which was, at the same time, grave and romantic, lively and phlegmatic.

"In the army his courage was brilliant, but as if by fits, and with indifference to the praises which his brave actions obtained. He fulfilled all his duties strictly, without regard to his personal safety; at the

passage of the Po, he placed himself at the head of the attacking columns; at Pizzighettone he was the first in the breach; at the assault on Pavia he rode at the head of the sappers and grenadiers, who were ordered to break down the gates of the town with hatchets, and he thus uselessly braved a shower of balls, of which he found himself the aim. He thought it his duty to be on horseback, in order better to observe the situation of the town, as soon as the grenadiers should rush into the streets; the sight of the sack of this town, celebrated for its university, made a deep impression upon him, and rendered him still more taciturn.

"When, on the eve of the battle of Castiglione, I sent him to Paris to lay before the Directory a report of the events which had determined me to raise the siege of Mantua, and to abandon for the moment the line of the Adige, he was so unhappy at the idea of not sharing the dangers to which he believed me and the army to be exposed, that I was obliged to say to him: 'Set out without any regret, Louis; I can charge no one but my brother with this unpleasant commission; but, before you return, you shall present to the Directory the standards which I shall take to-morrow from the enemy.' And he did, in fact, present to the Directory the nine standards lost by Austria at the battle of Castiglione. They arrived in Paris nearly at the same time as himself.

"His unlucky stars would have it that during his sojourn in Paris, before setting out for Egypt, he should become acquainted with the daughter of an *emigré*,

the Marquis Beauharnais,* and fell desperately in love with her. A youthful confidence reposed in old Casabianca, a devoted friend of my family, disturbed all the dreams of this first love. The republicanism of Casabianca took alarm at the possibility of an alliance between a Bonaparte and an emigré; and he hastened to tell me all. There is no doubt that this marriage would have displeased public opinion, and given rise to attacks from parties who already regarded me with alarm. I did not think it would be possible to overrule by reasoning the love of a young man of twenty, and I thought the best plan would be to appear ignorant of the whole matter, and to remove him from Paris by some military commission. Next day, a post-chaise separated the lovers by 100 leagues between Lyons and Paris. But notwithstanding this precaution, neither absence, nor the campaign in Egypt, nor even the marriage of Mademoiselle Beauharnais with Monsieur Lavalette, arrested the ravages of this first love, and it exercised a fatal influence on Louis's future life. This hasty departure, without any fraternal explanation, and under the austere forms of military discipline, laid the foundation of the distrust which from that day forward repressed his gratitude for all that I did for him. I was wrong; it would have been better to have appealed to his reason, and to have acted frankly towards him.

* This Marquis de Beauharnais is not to be confounded with Viscount Beauharnais, general in the republican army, and first husband of the Empress Josephine.

"A short time after my accession to the consulate, I appointed him colonel of the 5th regiment of dragoons, and sent him to the army of La Vendée: his duty was to obey; he obeyed, but manœuvred in such a manner that not a man of his regiment drew a sabre. He could not, however, avoid being a witness of the execution of four unhappy Chouan chiefs, who were shot at Alençon, after the signing of the armistice, by the orders of General Guidal, and in spite of Louis's earnest entreaties to the General that he would await my confirmation of the sentence; and it was remarked that he carried his indignation so far as to shut himself up in his apartments, as on a day of mourning, commanding his officers to imitate his example.

"In the summer of 1801, he expressed to me his desire to be present at the grand manœuvres which were to take place at Potsdam. I willingly acquiesced, in the hope that the various objects which would divert his mind during a long journey in the north, would combat with success the progress of a moral and physical marasmus which alarmed me; he set out with the intention of visiting all the north of Europe; but political events hastened his return to Paris, and prevented him from visiting Russia. Soon after, he set out with his regiment to join the French-Spanish army, destined to enter Portugal under the command of General Leclerc. The signing of the treaty of Amiens brought him back to France, and it was then that his marriage with Hortense became a

subject of serious consideration. He had long been acquainted with the Empress Josephine's wish to call him her son-in-law, but, still under the impressions of his first love, he carefully avoided all occasions of being alone with her; a ball at Malmaison was the rock on which all his resolutions made shipwreck; an attack, as smart as it was unforeseen, drew from him his consent, and on the 4th of January, 1802, the nuptial benediction was pronounced on two beings worthy of loving each other, but whom fate separated by impressions never to be effaced.*

"A circumstance which could only be explained by a high political idea, and which Louis did not understand, gave new activity to the incessant labour of a distrust nourished by a natural disposition to sadness and dejection.

"The empire had just been created; I wished my brothers to be initiated in all the mechanism of the state; I appointed Louis state councillor of the section of legislation, and Joseph colonel of the 4th regiment of infantry. 'Why become from a colonel a state-councillor, a lawyer; and from an ambassador a colonel?' asked Louis of himself; and he immediately took it into his head that this enigma could only find

* Three children were the issue of this marriage. Prince Napoleon Charles, who died in Holland; Prince Napoleon Louis, baptized by Pius VII., during his sojourn in France; and Prince Charles Louis Napoleon, the only prince of the Imperial family whose birth was registered like that of the King of Rome in the archives of the senate, with the title of heir-presumptive of the Imperial Crown.

its solution in a fresh sacrifice which I did not venture to ask of him; but to which he would find himself condemned by one of the natural consequences of his entrance into the council of state.

"In spite of his imaginary fears, he received, a short time after, the title of Colonel-general of the carabiniers, and a constable's sword, as well as the command of a *corps de reserve* stationed near Lille, while the army was encamped at Boulogne, and when it set out on the campaign of Austerlitz, I confided to him the government of Paris, a very difficult post, but which he filled with remarkable zeal, activity, and talent, in the midst of the serious embarrassments occasioned me by a party which reckoned partisans in the senate, and among the highest functionaries of the state. The discredit of the Bank was at that time such, that it was obliged to suspend payment; and no day passed without witnessing innumerable assemblages of people which seemed to forebode a revolt: a few men of the imperial guard, some scarcely clothed recruits, and the police of the town of Paris, constituted the whole serviceable military force, to keep this great city in order, and to keep it faithful to the oaths which it had just taken to the third dynasty.

"When events obliged me to bring together a body of troops on the Lower Rhine in order to protect Holland, Antwerp, and the north of France from the attacks with which the hostile attitude of Prussia menaced me, I gave the command of them to Louis; he seconded me zealously; in a few weeks the system

of defence was securely arranged, and Prussia, astonished at the sudden rising up of an army on its frontiers, arrested its hostile manifestations, and sent its prime minister to my head quarters.

" Von Haugwitz arrived at Brünn, in Moravia, on the eve of the battle of Austerlitz; I knew all the sharpness of the communications brought by the minister; I refused to see him, sending him this message by Talleyrand:—'I wish to preserve friendly relations with the King of Prussia; if I received the plenipotentiary this evening, we should quarrel; to-morrow, I shall have disorganized the armies of two great empires, and Von Haugwitz will have nothing to say to me but words of peace, to which I shall listen with pleasure. Let him, then, repose himself for forty-eight hours, after his long journey, and let him come the day after to-morrow to the castle of Austerlitz, where I will receive him.

" I was in the right ; Von Haugwitz allowed that he brought messages of war, but that the battle of Austerlitz rendered this impossible, and that he had now nothing to do but to thank me for the testimony of friendship I had just shown towards the King of Prussia.

" Holland had been for thirty years the field of operation of anti-French intrigues, and an incessant struggle between the partisans of the house of Orange, and the friends of France. This division had its source in the relations of the provinces among themselves. The republic was composed of seven pro-

vinces, united by politics, but independent as to their government, and of a large annexed province called La Generalité, which included Dutch Brabant, Dutch Flanders, the countries beyond the Meuse, Maestricht, Namur, Bréda, and Bois-le-Duc. This fine province, La Generalité, was to Holland what the Pays-de-Vaud was to the canton of Berne; it sent no deputy to the states-general. These, composed of deputies from the seven provinces, governed La Generalité despotically as their conquest. Such was long the fate of the Roman colonies. Each of the seven united provinces exercised, by its deputy, a portion of the general sovereignty, and had its particular sovereignty over its own district. This sovereignty was manifested in the power exercised by the Chambers, called states-provincial, formed of deputies from some privileged towns; all towns had not the right of sending deputies. Each province had the absolute sovereignty of its interior government, voted its part of the impost for the general expenses of the state, but regulated the manner of raising it. The towns administered justice in themselves by means of municipal forms. They rendered no account of their administration to the states-provincial, any more than the latter rendered any to the states-general. It would have been difficult to follow with greater exactness the order of the federative system.

"All these little burgher independencies, united into a community for the common interest, formed an independent state, which was long flourishing and

prosperous. It had its origin in a fine political idea, to offer a home to the victims of policy and intolerance. It was thus that the Greeks constituted their states, and that they had been able to struggle against Asia and the Romans. Holland fell, like Greece, because it was old, troubled by intestine disorders, and its mutual bonds half broken : it had moreover a capital defect in its state-organization; its sovereign was not a monarch, but had in his hands all the means of becoming so. As long as the princes of Nassau were not ambitious on their own account, they lived honoured and glorious, and held a good rank in Europe. They courageously resisted Louis XIV.; their flag was respected; they had a preponderance among the sovereigns of the second order, and those of the first sought their alliance; they were in the true condition of a good government—equality in the sovereignty between the prince and the states-general. Should this equality once be broken by any encroachment on one side or the other, there would be danger to both; and this is precisely what happened.

" An aristocratic vein ran through this republican body—the equestrian order. This order was represented in the states-general by a special deputation of the nobility of each province. The complicated nature of this government rendered it vulnerable through its own organization; it was neither democratic enough nor aristocratic enough; there lay in it the elements of civil war, in case of an interruption

of the good understanding between the various parts, and yet not sufficient means of turning this war to the advantage of the victorious party, without crushing the other by a revolution which would endanger the national independence. In order to take precautions against this danger, of which the Dutch were aware, they created the office of stadtholder, and chose a prince of the house of Nassau. They showed true wisdom in this case, in selecting their chief magistrate from an illustrious house, but one whose situation could give them no jealousy. This prince on his election was loaded with prerogatives. Captain-general, high-admiral—these were his titles, and he had besides in his power the nomination to all civil and military employments, and the disposal of a considerable treasure. The gradual system of elections, constantly renewed, presented the stadtholder with favourable chances, by means of the influence which he might there create for himself; and from time to time he would needs be absolute master, when his creatures were included in the states-general. By its nature, the office of stadtholder was permanent; so that the person holding it had always the resource and advantage of waiting, in the possession of power, to see that power increase.

"This situation of interest had several times placed the stadtholder and the states-general in opposition to each other, and the state in a crisis. Revolutions had taken place; they had been bloody; great citizens, such as Jean de Witt and Barneveldt, had lost their

lives in them. The office of stadtholder had, at length, been abolished; but the dangers threatening the republic, when Louis XIV. conquered several of its provinces, forced it to re-establish this great power in favour of William III. This prince avenged it, and delivered its territories; like a skilful politician, he profited by the gratitude of the nation to assume an almost absolute authority. He treated the three provinces into which the arms of Louis had penetrated, in the same manner as the senate of Carthage treated its generals when they had been defeated; he inflicted on them a national chastisement; he declared them incapable for the future of nominating their magistrates, and took their nomination into his own hands. Thus, as the state consisted of seven provinces, he made himself master, in 1674, of three-sevenths of the sovereignty by this act of extraordinary justice, which was called the *regulation*.

"William did not rest contented with having caused himself to be acknowledged as the conqueror of the provinces invaded by Louis XIV.; he found, in the confusion resulting from the war of the succession in Spain, a pretext for obtaining the military dictatorship. As captain-general he commanded the army; but he could not order any movement or change among the garrisons without the concurrence of the state. He availed himself of this war to demonstrate the inconveniences of this dependence. The services which he had just rendered to the republic, gave him a right to use a high tone; he obtained, *for one campaign*

only, the discretionary power which he coveted. This power, subvertive of all republican government, became an hereditary right of the stadtholder. The town of Amsterdam, however, always refused to open its gates to the soldiers, and persisted in considering this discretionary power as an encroachment on the liberty of the nation; the province of Holland shared to the last the courageous resistance of its capital.

"After the death of William III., the States resolved to abolish the office of stadtholder; but in the war of 1741, when Holland, forgetting its political principles, took part against France, and roused the United Provinces from the state of neutrality to which they owed their riches, the need of a chief possessing power and energy was strongly felt; the revolution which re-established the office, occupied only a fortnight; William IV. was proclaimed with an enthusiasm difficult to be described; the people heaped prodigally on his head all the privileges which he could use; they added, to the *regulation* of 1674, and to the rights-*patent*, the heirship of the office of Stadtholder in the house of Nassau-Orange, and the privilege of succession to females in case of the extinction of the male line. It was difficult for republicans to go further than this. By this last revolution, the stadtholder rose suddenly from the condition of servant of the states-general to that of protector and master. He was a sovereign. The kings of Europe treated him as such; and the great Frederic gave his niece in marriage to William V.

"This princess, whose character was haughty and vindictive, played a conspicuous part in the events which again changed the government of Holland. She thought herself entirely at liberty to act as she pleased, because she reckoned on the support of the king, her uncle, whose power and influence were the result of his glory and of his genius. The stadtholder, on his side, relying entirely on the support of the king of England, thought he might oppress the country with impunity. The town of Amsterdam and the province of Holland generously devoted themselves to the defence of their country's liberty.

"The care of William V.'s minority had been confided to Duke Louis of Brunswick, who prolonged his guardianship beyond the time of William's majority. He had received from the states the title and the functions of lieutenant-general of the republic, and, in virtue of this office, had charge of all matters relating to war and its administration. The young prince had become accustomed to the government of Duke Louis, who spared him all the responsibilities of sovereignty, and exercised its powers. The patriots became alarmed at this prolonged authority, which was insensibly degenerating into usurpation; and they were, besides, dissatisfied with the character of William V. with his bad faith, his falsehood, his incapacity, and his weakness; and in the determination which they took to save their country at all hazards, they resolved to get rid of Duke Louis. They soon found both the opportunity and the motive for which they

wished, in a document signed by the stadtholder after his coming of age, in which the prince promised to undertake nothing without the sanction of the Duke of Brunswick. The partisans of the stadtholder became, by the communication of this important document, as much interested as the patriots in getting rid of an authority which was subjecting even the stadtholder himself; and the duke was obliged to take his departure. This little revolution occurred in the interior of the country, and had not much publicity. The patriots, like skilful men, had been cautious of drawing a great party to the design which they had conceived.

"This document, of which they now had possession, was the work of Blesswick, the grand pensionary, and written by his own hand. By this act alone, he had rendered himself guilty of treason; and if this document was denounced to the states-general, it would bring upon him capital condemnation. Blesswick, a man of great talent, enjoyed popular favour. The patriots, instead of ridding themselves of him, as they had done of Duke Louis who could only injure them, determined to make use of him; and they acted wisely. The character of this deliberate and prudent nation is exhibited in all their revolutions. They showed Blesswick the document which he had imprudently drawn up, and proposed to him the alternative of being accused by them or of serving them. Blesswick, as they expected, did not hesitate, as this power was in the hands of the patriots. He devoted himself to their

projects, and showed himself so faithful to the engagements, though forced, into which he had entered with them, that when the five years' term of his office was elapsed, he had influence enough to get himself re-elected.

"Affairs assumed a still graver aspect in consequence of the war which England, in contempt of treaties, declared against the United Provinces, then in alliance with France, which armed against Great Britain. Unfortunate Holland was pulled about between these two great powers, one of which, England, did not wish it to have a navy; and the other, France, insisted that it should have no land army, but a navy. There was yet another perplexity; England wished the stadtholder to be an absolute monarch, and took his part: France was in favour of the republican interest. The alliance of the seven united provinces with the latter country brought down upon them a British storm. Holland, however, had done everything in its power to avert it, by protesting its neutrality; it also brought forward one of the clauses of the last treaty, which authorized the contracting parties to continue their commercial relations with powers at war with one of them, provided they refrained from importing arms and ammunition. It cited the example of England itself, which, in a similar position, had profited by these advantages. Russia offered aid to Holland, by inviting it to subscribe to the treaty of armed neutrality, which it had just concluded with Sweden and Denmark. This treaty contained the very

stipulations and exceptions agreed to in the regulation of 1778, relative to the navigation of neutral countries; and the fulfilment of which, in reference to its commerce with France, Holland vainly demanded from the British government: all was useless; England, closely united to the stadtholder, on whom it reckoned, and with reason, abused the advantages offered it by treason, and declared war on the very day on which the ambassadors of the states were agreeing at Petersburgh to the treaty of neutrality.

"The conduct of the stadtholder became more than suspicious to the patriots, who had their eyes open to all his operations as high-admiral. The treason of the prince soon became manifest: France demanded from Holland a fleet, to co-operate with its own in this war, and to unite with it at Brest. This fleet was to sail from the Texel. The head of the admiralty of the Meuse, the famous Paulus, displayed such activity in the matter, that forty vessels lay ready to sail in the roads of Texel. But the stadtholder, in his office of high-admiral, put so many difficulties in the way of the execution of the states' orders, that the season for putting to sea passed. He did more. The states, being informed that an English squadron, under the command of Admiral Parker, was cruising in the Sound, in the hope of getting possession of the Dutch vessels employed in the commerce of the Baltic, ordered the high-admiral to have these vessels convoyed by a considerable force. The stadtholder, compelled to obey, chose, as commander of the fleet, which

received orders to prepare for sailing, Zoutman, an old man whom he drew from obscurity; he reckoned on the weakness of this old sailor, who had been long forgotten, to allow his vessels to fall into the hands of the English, and so bent was he upon this design, that he did not even give Zoutman a sufficient number of armed vessels to defend his convoy.

"The admiral complained of the insufficiency of his forces; the stadtholder informed him in reply, that he would be reinforced on the way by Admiral Kinsberg, one of the greatest naval commanders in Europe. Zoutman set sail, and met Kinsberg, whom he begged to accompany him; but what was his astonishment, when Kinsberg showed him an order which he had received, recalling him within twenty-four hours. But although this admiral was a partisan of the stadtholder, he could not resolve to let old Zoutman proceed, knowing that he would inevitably lose the vessels of war and of commerce which were under his command; he took it upon himself, therefore, to accompany him during a few days.

"The English admiral had been informed of the approach of Zoutman; he left his station and advanced to meet him, confident of taking the whole convoy almost without a struggle. But when he saw the junction of the two Dutch admirals, he was obliged to decide on giving battle; he lost it, and escaped by flight. This was called the battle of the Dogger-bank, a bank of sand on the coast of Jutland. Old Zoutman fought like a hero; Kinsberg did wonders. Holland,

triumphant, honoured its two admirals; but the stadtholder received them with marked indifference, and by this conduct clearly proved his perfidious engagements with England. Zoutman again returned to oblivion. This victory was then very justly regarded by the patriots as a victory over the stadtholder himself, who could not conceal his anger. The disgrace of Zoutman, the conqueror, violently inflamed parties, already irritated by the obstacles which the stadtholder had put in the way of the fleet's departure from the Texel, and of its junction with that of Brest. The nation was openly betrayed by its ruler. The treaty of 1783 terminated this war. By it England gained the settlement of Negapatnam on the coast of Coromandel, ceded to her by the Dutch.

"After this peace, the policy of the states-general leaned entirely towards the side of France, and compelled the stadtholder, against his will, to follow the negotiation. The treaty, signed at Versailles on the 8th of November, 1783, was ratified by the states on the 12th of December. The patriots loudly manifested their joy; Amsterdam and Rotterdam had medals struck in commemoration of the alliance with France. Never did a nation express more characteristically the part which it took in the policy of its government. The stadtholder, however, affected to reproach France with the loss of Negapatnam; the patriots, on the other hand, and with much more justice, reproached the prince with having prevented

the junction of the Texel fleet with that of the French, which would have dealt a terrible blow to England, especially since the armed neutrality of the maritime courts of the north. This junction was what the stadtholder, in accordance with the views of the court of St. James, had carefully endeavoured to prevent, in spite of the efforts of Admiral Paulus, the orders of the states, and the agreement entered into with France.

"The death of Frederic the Great was an event of considerable importance to the affairs of Holland. The Princess of Orange reckoned, and with reason, still more on the support of her brother, who was now called to the throne of Prussia, than she had done on the protection of the old king, who had always disdained to interfere in the quarrels of this republic, otherwise than by a moderate system of advice to both parties. His policy would besides have induced him, had he lived longer, to join France against the English party, whose instrument his name always was, and not to suffer any attack to be made on the republic, his ally. After the death of this great King, the Prince and Princess of Orange thought fit to avail themselves of their influence with the new king, in order to make him interfere as the protector of their pretensions in the usurpation of the supreme power.

"Hertzberg, under the late king, had only been an ordinary minister, for Frederic himself governed; but he became the directing minister under his successor, a weak and indolent prince, naturally averse to business, and the whole extent of whose ambition

was to enjoy the glorious heritage which his uncle had founded in Europe. Hertzberg had not been able, during the late king's reign, to obtain for the solicitations of the court of the Hague, the influence which he would have wished. He indemnified himself with the new king, for his impotence during the reign of the great monarch; he persuaded him to grant to the Princess, his sister, his declared protection. The affairs of Holland were only known in Berlin by the complaints of the Orangists. Count Goertz was sent as ambassador to the Hague, with instructions to direct the stadtholder in his conduct in opposition to the states, and to give him official support. The revolution commenced in the month of September, 1785, by a revolt; it had, of course, its success, its reverses, and its triumphs. This sedition, the work of the Orangists, was directed against the functionaries of Amsterdam, Dordrecht, and Haarlem, the three principal magistrates of the country, and the chiefs of the republican party. Sunday being a day when all business was suspended, even to the functions of the states general and provincial, was selected in preference to any other, because none of the local authorities would on that day have any repressive force at hand. Matters were so arranged that the stadtholder himself, without whose orders no military force could leave its station, should be in the country, and it would be too late when his orders should arrive. The three magistrates would infallibly have been massacred, had it not been for an unforeseen circumstance which brought

to their assistance a force sufficient to disperse the rioters. The constitution had provided for the absence of the sovereign power with which the states-general were to be invested, by the establishment of a *council committee*, selected from the states themselves. In cases of emergency, this committee exercised the sovereign power in the absence of the stadtholder; it made use of its authority on the first report of the disturbance, and ordered out the garrison of the Hague against the assailants of the three magistrates.

"The next day, the assembled states declared their intention of obviating the danger to public tranquillity, resulting from the necessity of recurring to the stadtholder for orders respecting the movement of the troops, and added to the rights of the *council committee*. William V., on hearing of this determination, which took from him his highest privilege, went to the states, defended his rights, and demanded that the general command should be left to him, promising to use it in securing the public tranquillity. His entreaties were in vain; his humiliation was complete, and the states persisted in their determination.

"The stadtholder was violently irritated at the failure of his efforts; he threw off his uniform, and set out for Gelderland and Berlin, to solicit a still more active interference, which might restore to him his command. He declared that he would not return to Holland, if this prerogative was not restored to him; that he regarded it as a right inherent in his dignity. This claim gave rise to several diplomatic memorials

and notes. The states deliberated anew, and although the pensionary of Amsterdam had experienced some defection among his partisans, the patriots still had the upper hand.

"They did not sleep on their victory; but availed themselves of it to broach questions which were, no doubt, of less elevated interest, but of more popular effect. The standards of the Dutch guards, employed especially in the service of the states-general, had insensibly been transformed into standards of the stadtholder, by the great size of the prince's shield, and the diminutiveness of that of the provinces; this was a public sign of the usurpation of the military power. The patriots judged that the time was now come to open the eyes of the people to this usurpation, to which they had become accustomed, as well as to that of the legislative rights and of the sovereignty, of which the stadtholders had never, from the commencement, lost sight for a single moment. A usage, equally the fruit of usurpation, daily offended the republicans, and especially the members of the states. The palace, in which the stadtholder lived, contained the hall of the assembly; a square court, common to both wings of the building, had two outlets to the town, one on the north and the other on the south; the stadtholder had taken possession of the one on the north, and no one but himself was allowed to pass through it.

"On the 27th of February, the patriots succeeded in having the standards with the stadtholder's arms immediately replaced by those adorned with the na-

tional arms; the military honours, paid till then only to the stadtholder, were to be common to the members of the states; and the reserved gate was to be thrown open. These puerile victories satisfied the vanity of the people; they reminded them that the sovereignty resided in the states-general. One circumstance was near giving rise to a serious popular movement. A member of the states, named Gislaër, endeavoured to avail himself of the right which the patriots had just obtained, of passing through the stadtholder's gate: some of the populace, purposely suborned by the Orangists, assailed his carriage, and they would indubitably have murdered him, had not the guards hastened to his rescue. A judicial process followed this affair, and the man who had appeared to direct the riot was condemned to death. At the moment when the miserable man was about to forfeit his life, Gislaër brought him his pardon, which he had generously solicited from the states. If Gislaër had been assassinated in his ambitious attempt, the people would have looked upon him as a madman; he succeeded, and became their idol. This event gave confidence to the patriots, while at the same time it diminished the number of the partisans of the court. A decree of the states pronounced the dissolution of the companies of volunteers formed by the stadtholder's party, and organized patriotic companies in their stead. It is always in times of public disturbance, and particularly when the people have obtained a victory, that those elements of a national power are thrown together,

which afterwards become an army, called to defend and save their country. Every nation has at some time had, like the Dutch, its stadtholder's gate to re-conquer; the Parisians took the Bastille; the inhabitants of the Pays-de-Vaud the castle of Chillon. At Utrecht there was another patriotic movement. Since the time of William III., the provinces of Utrecht, Gelderland, and Overyssel, had not been represented separately and by deputies of their own choice; the stadtholder had the nomination of them in his hands. This incredible prerogative, notwithstanding the direct insult to national honour contained in it, had been maintained for a period of 111 years. But, the moment appearing favourable to the three conquered provinces, for finally abolishing the regulation of 1674, the citizens of Utrecht named commissioners to draw up a new regulation which they approved. Towards the end of December, the citizens, to the number of five thousand, and unarmed, assembled quietly and without tumult, in the vast square in front of the Hôtel de Ville, and required their magistrates to replace the old regulation by the new one which they had submitted to them. It was not till the evening that this vast assembly, whose tranquillity was not for a moment interrupted, was informed that its demands were granted by the magistrates: but as they had no power to sanction them, it was necessary to await the convocation of the states of the province, which could not take place till three months afterwards. This singular scene, in which a few municipal officers deli-

berated coolly during twelve hours, on a demand made by five thousand men, took place on the 20th of December, 1785. The stadtholder's party availed themselves of their three months' respite to gain a majority. The attitude of the citizens, however, prevailed; the regulation of 1674 was abolished, and the regency of Utrecht established. This revolution, for it was really one, was effected without violence, and without any disturbance of the public tranquillity. The Dutch character inclines this people to avoid all excess, to calculate their movements, and not to rouse themselves except when forced to it by a feeling of their own real interest. The conduct of the inhabitants of Utrecht gave rise to the same sentiments in the provinces of Gelderland and Overyssel, which shared the interdict of 1674.

"Thus everything was arranged at Utrecht for that province, in spite of the efforts and negotiations of the stadtholder. The nobles and clergy of Utrecht reckoned scarcely twenty members; but each of these two orders had a representative in the states-provincial, while the five voting towns were represented by one deputy. These two orders formed themselves into a body, under the name of the *states-provincial of Utrecht*, in the little town of Amersfort, where the stadtholder resided. According to agreement with them, he stationed a garrison there to protect them. One may see at every turn how defective was the constitution of the United Provinces, and how it had consequently fallen into a state of discredit, which

must necessarily bring on either a popular reform, or a usurpation of power by the stadtholder.

"The province of Gelderland undertook to follow the example of Utrecht; but the revolution there was far from being equally peaceable, because the prince, furious at his defeat at Utrecht, employed violence instead of negotiation, and preferred civil war to the loss of his prerogatives. In Gelderland, the nobility, poor and numerous, were entirely devoted to the prince. But in spite of the tyranny which had robbed this province of even the shadow of liberty, a patriotism, the more ardent because it was repressed, was nourished among the citizen class. It now broke out furiously, after a silence of more than a century; and, like an electric spark, suddenly extended to the various classes of citizens in every town. Numerous addresses, expressed in the most energetic terms, and explaining the universal desire, were presented to the states-provincial. The states, entirely devoted to the stadtholder, paid no attention to them, and issued two decrees—one of which restrained the liberty of the press, and the other forbade the body of citizens to address any petitions to their sovereign. This flagrant violation of the constitution irritated the minds of the people to the highest degree; two small towns, Elsbourg and Hattem, loudly refused to publish the resolutions of the states. The stadtholder had joined insult to violence in his treatment of this last town, by appointing a soldier to be its burgomaster; the town courageously refused to receive this new kind of

magistrate: this was doubtless what the prince wished, as, immediately on learning their resistance, he ordered troops to march against them. In virtue of the constitutional forms, he had obtained authority from the states of Gelderland, composed of his creatures, to employ force against the seditious citizens. The execution of these orders immediately followed; some regiments marched to Elsbourg, but they found the town deserted by its inhabitants. The whole population, rather than consent to submit to the yoke of a master whom they were too weak to resist, had taken the courageous resolution of abandoning their houses. At the news of the approach of troops, they had all embarked with whatever property they could take away, and had sought refuge at Campen, at the other side of the Yssel. At Hattem the inhabitants made resistance. The stadtholder's artillery battered down the gates, and a few persons were slain fighting.

"As soon as news was received at the Hague of the resolution of the states of Gelderland to send troops against Elsbourg and Hattem, the states held a special meeting. Conformably to the resolution taken by the grand-pensionary De Witt, in 1663, it was decided that each member should be at liberty to express his opinion, whatever it might be, without any fear of the consequences. This deliberation announced both the crisis with which the republic was threatened, and the decided intervention which the states of Holland intended to signalize to public attention. Gislaër, the magistrate of Dort, eloquently recapitulated all the

complaints of the republic against the usurpation of the stadtholders, and especially against the reigning prince. He had no difficulty in demonstrating that Gelderland, the members of whose states and magistracy were creatures of the stadtholder, was neither represented nor governed by itself, and that the troubles of this province were caused by this pernicious influence. In consequence, he proposed, 1st, to engage the states of Gelderland to abstain from all violence towards the towns of Elsbourg and Hattem, in order that the province of Holland might not be compelled to interfere; 2ndly, to invite the four other provinces to oppose the march of their troops against the citizens; and 3rdly, to write to the stadtholder, summoning him to put an end to the agitation and disturbance of the country; failing which, he would be considered as the author of the civil war, and would be deposed by the states of Holland from his power and dignity. These proposals were unanimously agreed upon by the eighteen voting towns. But this resolution, passed on the 4th of September, was prevented from being executed by the events at Elsbourg and Hattem, of which news was received at the Hague on the 6th. The two first clauses had then of course to be renounced; the third was strictly followed, and the states-general allowed the stadtholder four-and-twenty hours to send a reply and to put an end to the acts of violence which he had been committing. William V. hastened to reply that he had done nothing contrary to constitutional law, and had only acted by the

orders of the states of Gelderland. It was easy to foresee this answer, to which there was no legal objection. This state of things, equally false as regarded both parties, only served to nourish their mutual hatred; and the patriots were only the more irritated at this duplicity on the part of the prince, who dared to allege in his defence the orders of the states of Gelderland, of which he himself was the sole regulator. The states of Holland now resolved to decide the matter absolutely. When they received news of what had been done in the two towns of Gelderland, they resolved to order the prince to send back the troops to their garrisons. Three other provinces, those of Overyssel, Groningen, and Zeeland, had followed this example. The states were using their constitutional powers, and the stadtholder could not elude their demands.

"A resolution still more important and more hostile was proposed on the 20th of September, and passed by a majority of sixteen votes out of eighteen; it was that by which the prince was suspended from his functions of captain-general. It now became evident that the command previously given for the recal of the troops, had only been a preparatory measure. The town of Amsterdam, whose patriotism had been the least decided during the late occurrences, now voted the most violently; it wished the resolution to be grounded *on the unexampled outrages committed* by the prince; it was truly a declaration of war.

"Holland hastened to take all military precautions,

by arming its frontiers on the side of Gelderland and Utrecht, where the prince had the chief power. Preparations were made on both sides for a civil war.

"It was in these circumstances that Hertzberg, at the request of the Prince and Princess of Orange, persuaded the new King of Prussia to interfere in the affairs of the republic, eagerly seizing this opportunity of consoling himself for the state of dependence in which the great Frederic had constantly kept him, and anxious to play a part, at length, in a great affair. At this period the people who resisted oppression were called rebels. Hertzberg did not understand, or rather would not understand, that in the government of the seven provinces, the prince was the subject and the states were the sovereign. Even under the late king he had devoted himself, but without success, to the interests of the princess; it was not difficult for him to inspire the king her brother, by whom she was tenderly beloved, and over whom, on his accession, he had acquired great influence, with the resolution of interfering as arbiter in these fresh differences. He, therefore, selected Count Goertz as the instrument of his designs, and had him appointed ambassador extraordinary to the Hague. The arrival of this negotiator strangely surprised the Dutch. When his powers were known, the discontent became general; the King of Prussia took upon himself to act as *mediator*, and the stadtholder was represented as oppressed by violence. A conduct so contrary to justice was a direct outrage to the dignity of the states. They saw

themselves, by a decision of the Prussian cabinet, reduced to treat with the stadtholder on a footing of equality, and to defend themselves, in the presence of a government ignorant of their debates, from the very same accusations with which they thought themselves entitled to reproach the Prince of Orange.

"The patriots soon perceived that the mission of Count Goertz, although he announced himself as a conciliator, was entirely hostile to them. They became convinced of this by the close intimacy which was suddenly formed between this envoy and Harris, the English minister (Lord Malmesbury). The states became justly alarmed at the confidence which was established between the two plenipotentiaries. It was well known that the English minister hated the Dutch republicans, who were protected by France; and this union with Prussia would expose the cause of the republic to perils of a new nature. The open protection, or rather preference, given to the cause of the stadtholder, was connected with the rivalry between England and France. Harris, after being admitted to the confidence of Count Goertz, no longer kept any measures in his personal aversion to France, nor in his opinions on the actual debates. He treated as an insult to the King of Prussia the right which the states had just exercised, of suspending the stadtholder from his functions of captain-general. The states-general and the patriots saw themselves exposed to the united vengeance of England, Prussia, and the stadtholder. If William V. had been reduced to his

own forces, that is to say, to the four or five thousand men whom he drew from the neighbouring provinces of Gelderland, Friesland, and Zeeland, he would not have been able to resist the much more numerous troops kept up by the provinces of Holland, Groningen, and Overyssel. This division of forces of three provinces against three, was, in a military point of view, to the advantage of the republicans; but, if regarded under the aspect of votes to the states-general, it presented an equality which could only be removed by the representation of Utrecht. It has already been seen that this province was divided, by the resistance of its capital and by the opposition of the stadtholder's party at Amersfort. The deputation of Utrecht no longer existed, in consequence of the desertion of the two orders, who had taken refuge at Amersfort; and this circumstance stamped with illegality the proceedings of the states-general, now become incomplete. Thus the state, properly speaking, the constitutional state, no longer existed; henceforth, nothing was lawful, and the way was open to the most terrible evils.

"France, attached by a system of sound policy to the maintenance of Dutch liberty, could not remain a spectator of these events; she could not, without uneasiness, see Prussia unite with England, in order to establish the absolute power of the stadtholder over her allies. She, therefore, charged her minister at Berlin, Count Esterno, with a negotiation on the subject; and, not content with the share which she

declared it her intention to take in this affair, she sent a minister extraordinary to the Hague, where she already had an ambassador.

"The communications of Count Esterno enlightened the King of Prussia concerning the true state of affairs; and the instructions of his cabinet to Count Goertz prescribed to this agent a more moderate line of conduct, to which he was to confine himself. The influence of France was manifest: Frederick not only adhered to the system of conciliation which the French cabinet had adopted, but he even admitted an examination of the pretensions of the republicans.

"They participated in the national moderation, which had not, and never declared that it had, any other intention than that of confining the office of stadtholder within the limits and privileges determined by the constitution. The republicans justly alleged that the other rights, such as those of *taxation*, the *disposal of the army*, the *agreement of* 1674, which assigned to the stadtholder the power of nominating the magistrates of the three provinces, recovered from Louis XIV.; and, finally, the command of the Hague, had not been conceded to the prince, except *during the good pleasure* of the states, which necessarily implied the right of the states to revoke what they had originally conferred. They added, that such had been the condition at the period of the establishment of the office of hereditary stadtholder in the family of Nassau-Orange; and that on the accession of the reigning prince, this stipulation had been renewed.

That William V., therefore, was wrong in pretending to be responsible to his posterity for the preservation of these privileges. However, the desire of peace was so universal, that the patriots voluntarily consented to modifications, which only took away from those three privileges as much as was considered dangerous to the liberties of the public.

"The conduct of these republicans was admirable, and in no respect belied the exalted reputation which they enjoyed in Europe, both for their understanding and their patriotism. Count Goertz, in compliance with the orders of his court, willingly received the proposition of the patriotic party, and approved of its wisdom and moderation; and, entertaining no doubt of the honour which would accrue to him from a reconciliation between the prince and the states, which he regarded as certain, he went to the stadtholder, at Nimeguen; he found him, however, more inflexible than ever. Instead of showing any eagerness to adopt the modifications made in their first demand, William V. replied, that it was the duty of the states of Holland to acknowledge their errors. He even required and imperiously demanded to be restored with full powers to his dignity of captain-general, as well as to the command of the Hague, adding, that when this was done, he would see what measures could be taken to restore tranquillity. This violent reply was not even committed to a diplomatic note addressed to Count Goertz, but was contained in a letter written to him

by the princess. The minister addressed to the king his sister's letter, and the French envoy extraordinary, perceiving that all negotiation was become impossible, decided on returning to Versailles. Thus the hopes of the republican party respecting peace, for the attainment of which they had made such generous concessions, were altogether blasted. The stadtholder was convinced that the republicans would not submit to his will, and the latter expected the adoption of the most violent measures by the prince, they therefore assumed an attitude of defence. Civil war was now a question of public safety. A revolution had become necessary, in order to escape from the condition of anxiety into which the want of action of a legal government had plunged the people. The partisans of the stadtholder alone triumphed, because they still calculated with confidence, that the infallible result of their victory would be the establishment of the sovereignty of the house of Nassau.

"In fact, the governors of the strongest towns, such as Amsterdam and Rotterdam, were almost all fiery partisans of the stadtholder, and in the most important circumstances the wishes of the citizens had been eluded by aristocratic manœuvres. For the safety of the patriots, the actual situation of things demanded a majority which was not precarious, such as that of ten out of eighteen of the cities which had the privilege of voting. Something approaching almost to unanimity was necessary, in order that the resolutions adopted should have a character of stability. The

patriots and the Orangists took the field in order to secure votes in the states, and to obtain a signal victory in its deliberations. Thus some worked to destroy, and others to increase the stadtholder's partisans.

"An unforeseen circumstance suddenly occurred which set the two parties in active motion. The town of Haarlem had submitted a very democratic proposition to the estates, in which it was demanded that some sort of influence should be given to the people in public affairs, but as the proposition was only received by a very feeble majority, a commission was appointed to report on its propriety, in order to obtain the lead of the Orangists, who were greatly alarmed by the measure proposed. The citizens of Amsterdam urged the municipality to assemble and deliberate. The magistrates and council deceived the citizens; they begged the people to suffer them to manage this affair, and their proposal was accepted with confidence; they named four partisans of the prince,—one to the commission, and the three others to the states-general, in order to strengthen their deputation. In the sitting of the estates, the towns of Dort and Haarlem had proposed that the commission should be composed of from seven to nine members; the nobles, on the other hand, demanded that every town should elect a commissioner, as well as the equestrian order, and this was conceded. The aristocracy, which had the sway in nine cities, carried both points by a majority of one, in consequence of the accession of Amsterdam.

In this manner the proposition made by Haarlem was rejected. The patriots were alarmed at finding themselves in a minority in the estates, and the question, according to them, was the preservation or ruin of the country. The conduct of the corporation of Amsterdam was given up to the severest public reprobation, and the citizens swore to take vengeance on those who had betrayed them with such baseness and perfidy. Rotterdam was placed in the same condition with its corporation as Amsterdam. These two large towns came to a determination to effect a revolution in the council; it was agreed between them that Amsterdam should set the example, because its wealth and population gave it a considerable weight in public affairs. The citizens consequently assembled, and named commissioners to represent their feelings and objects to the corporation, and to defend their rights. After the example of Utrecht, they assumed an imposing attitude, and demanded,—1st, the immediate recall of the three deputies, who had betrayed the wishes of their constituents in the states-general; 2ndly, that the two remaining deputies should disavow the conduct of their colleagues, in the name of the city of Amsterdam; 3rdly, that the three deputies, thus denounced as traitors, should be excluded for ever from the privilege of the representation, and brought to trial. The ruling body was obliged to accede to these demands, and the majority again reverted to the side of the patriots.

"Proud of this victory, the republicans now engaged

with zeal in reforming the municipal bodies, because, without this, the majority attained would have had no stability, and it was necessary to take advantage of the enthusiasm of the first moments of victory to ensure its permanence. On the 21st of April, 1787, some companies of citizens seized upon the post at the Hotel de Ville, whilst others remained under arms in their quarters. A deputation of citizens waited on the municipal body with a petition, praying for the dismissal of two of its members. After a long deliberation, the council replied that it was not in their power to pronounce such a sentence upon any of its members; but the discontent of the citizens assumed such a formidable appearance, and such an effervescence was manifest in the public feeling, that they acceded by a *mezzo termine* to the general wish. The joy of the people was at its height, and was manifested by public demonstrations. Couriers were dispatched to all the provinces to announce the victory of the people, and on the 23rd, Rotterdam followed the example of Amsterdam.

"Immediately on its installation, and with a view to accomplish the object of its regeneration, the council sent a new deputation to the States, to recall the three deputies. The old deputies of Rotterdam, arrogating to themselves the right of pronouncing the illegality of what had just taken place in that town, instead of yielding to their recall, proceeded to the place of meeting of the states before the opening of the assembly, and there was consequently a double

representation. The old deputies presented an address, in which they denounced, before the states-general, the illegal conduct of the citizens of Rotterdam, and demanded the re-establishment of all that had been just annulled.

"This address was supported by the equestrian order, and a most animated discussion arose on the question whether the states-general should receive the new deputation. After a very stormy sitting, the majority proved favourable to the patriots, but only in the ratio of nine to eight, one of the eighteen cities having abstained from voting. The nobility became furious at receiving this check; declared they would put the resolution adopted *ad referendum*, and threatened henceforward to treat everything proposed to the states-general in the same manner. On the next day, the rejected deputation ventured to present themselves in the assembly anew; they were forbidden to sit by the side of those newly elected, and were obliged to remain standing without the bar, but were nevertheless present at the deliberation. The discussion was immediately renewed with all its former violence, although it had been decided by a majority the evening before, and the minority had only declared the *referendum*, upon which the nobility returned. The renewed discussion was altogether illegal, and besides, it far exceeded all the limits of propriety. The grand pensionary himself, who presided, and who enjoyed the respect of all parties, was personally addressed, and insulted by a young man

of the equestrian order. This was to insult the states. The magistrate then rose with dignity, severely reprobated the conduct of the speaker, declared that his duty was to decide according to the majority of votes, and letting his hammer fall upon the table, closed the sitting. Thus ended the affair of the double returns from Rotterdam.

"This sitting took place on the 25th of April, and it was fortunate for the patriots that they obtained a majority; for the partisans of the stadtholder, who had calculated on a sure victory in the case of the double return from Rotterdam, were determined to avail themselves of their triumph in this point, to cause William V. to be recalled to the Hague, to restore him to the command, and to depose Blesswick, the Grand Pensionary, whose patriotism was so formidable to them. Harris, the English ambassador, was one of the actors in this conspiracy, and so certain of success did he regard himself, as to have ordered beforehand a grand fête in his hotel to celebrate the event.

"The province of Utrecht had now two councils, the one patriot and the other Orangist. The former held its sittings at Utrecht, and the latter at Amersfort. Its affairs, however, were far from being peacefully settled. The republicans of Holland proposed the plan of negotiation in the hope of avoiding public disturbances; the partisans of the stadtholder in Amersfort accepted the proposal, in the persuasion of being able to turn it to advantage, which really took

place. The simplicity and good faith of the republicans proved quite unequal to contend with the army of veteran courtiers who directed all the stadtholder's affairs, and the manœuvres of his party. Thus, by false promises and fictitious delays, such as the genera of diplomacy and cunning know how to create, time, which was precious to the patriots, was lost, and employed to the best advantage by their opponents. The city of Utrecht soon learned that the troops of the province and those of Gueldres had been put in motion, and were under orders to march against it.

"Whilst the council of Amersfort, composed of nobles and clergy, were negotiating with the patriots of Holland, it was at the same time concerting with the Prince the plan of attacking Utrecht by open force. On the 9th of May, the people of Utrecht were apprised of their city being invested. The enemy's troops had been stationed so as to cut off all communication between that city and those of Amsterdam, Leyden, and the Hague; and to have the command of the old Rhine, as well as of the great dam which constituted one of the chief defensive resources of Utrecht. In the afternoon intelligence was received that a battalion was on its march to take possession of *Vresswyck*, a lordship belonging to the town. The municipal council immediately met, and ordered a detachment consisting of 3,000 citizens to march, under the command of *Van Averhoult*, one of the new municipality, and take up their position at *Vress-*

wyck. The detachment met the battalion at night-fall, and an action commenced. The contest was for a time maintained with equal advantage on both sides, but Van Averhoult having unmasked three small field-pieces, the troops of the line were speedily and totally defeated. So complete was their rout, that they lost their colours, threw away their guns and abandoned their baggage, whilst the citizens lost only a few men. They had the glory of defeating eight companies of the line, and of entering Vresswyck next day. Van Averhoult and his companions recalled to the minds of the inhabitants the bravery and devotedness of Leonidas and his 300 Spartans. Thus it is, that revolutions give rise to that military renown upon which national glory is founded.

"Both commander and citizens were in action on this occasion for the first time, and they valiantly defeated regular and veteran troops. The impression produced at the Hague was deep, and the states-general of Holland gave utterance to their just indignation at the recital of an act of violence, which exceeded those which had been perpetrated upon the towns of Elsbourg and Hattem. They determined to adopt the most energetic measures for the succour of Utrecht, and to resort to all the powers given them by the constitution, and which the necessity of the circumstances required. It has been seen, that every province had its own states, that is, its own local sovereign parliament:—the constitution did not permit one province to send its troops into the territories of

another without the consent of the provincial government. The states of Holland, which were at the head of the confederation, could not disregard this fundamental principle of union; but they had a right to declare that the hostilities exercised against the territory of Utrecht annulled the compact and broke the union. In consequence, they issued orders to their general to dismiss every officer, who, in contempt of the orders of the province, should refuse to serve for the defence of Utrecht. It was certain that states—that is, a local sovereign power, no longer existed in the province of Utrecht, because the city had only a fraction in the states, whilst the other part, consisting of nobles and clergy, had retired to Amersfort. For the same reason, two orders, composed of a few individuals, could not form the states of the province. In this case, the stadtholder committed a serious illegality, by recognising them as such, and doubly violated the constitution by sending a body of troops, strangers to the province, to march against its own capital in the name of states which were in themselves illegal. These two subjects of complaint were both imputed to the prince by the states of Holland, and determined their declaration to the states-general. Without loss of time, they supported their declaration by sending a regiment in their pay to the assistance of Utrecht; this was the body called the *Salm* legion. The political dispositions of this corps were well known, and it marched willingly to defend Utrecht. The general of the province of Holland received orders to hold his

troops in readiness to march at a moment's notice; and thus war was declared between the prince and the country. There was, however, a great stumbling-block in the way of employing republican troops, and even foreign regiments, although they were in the direct pay of the province, as the legion of *Salm* was in the pay of Holland. This difficulty arose from the soldiers having taken two oaths, one to the province which paid them, and a second to the states-general, without whose orders they were prohibited from entering the territory of another province. This complication of oaths gave the stadtholder an advantage in the existing state of affairs, of which he was not slow to avail himself; and though this difficulty was regarded by the states of Holland as almost insuperable, it was impossible for them to avoid it. Thus a danger arose to the patriotic party from the very means which they had of meeting it. They were obliged constantly to have a majority in the states-general, in order that the regiments might not be exposed to the perplexity of having to choose between two oaths. In order to get rid of this perplexity, the state of Holland cut the Gordian knot by an extraordinary stretch of power; this was, the dismissal and replacing of all those officers who refused to march, and alleged the solemnity of their obligation to the states-general. The province did still more—it constrained its soldiers to take a new oath, by which they were made exclusively dependent on its own states. The new officers were encouraged by extra-

ordinary rewards, and those who had been removed, and wished to resume the service, were invariably refused. It was a wise measure, in the existing condition of Holland, to exercise a seasonable severity against those who had any hesitation in entering into their service. In this way they would no longer have under their banners any but faithful and devoted troops.

"The stadtholder's party had lost the majority in the states-general, and failed in securing the object of highest importance—that of becoming masters of the province of Holland. It owed this check to the two revolutions which Rotterdam and Amsterdam had just effected in their municipal bodies. This display of the public feeling and tendencies in the provinces of Holland and Zeeland, deprived the stadtholder of all the means of a partial insurrection, on which he had counted; and he had not proved more successful in his military operations at Utrecht. After the defeat of the battalion sent to take possession of Vresswyck, a camp was formed at Zeist, near Utrecht, and the Salm regiment vigorously repulsed all its attacks. The states of Holland did not lose sight of the use which the stadtholder might make, both against their cause and that of Utrecht, of the regiments which they had in the province of Gueldres, and they required the prince to send them into the country of the *Generality*, otherwise they would cease to pay them. The inhabitants of Gueldres, who were favourable to the stadtholder, opposed the departure of the troops, but as they were not in a condition to pay

them, they devised the scheme of petitioning the states-general to raise a loan, in the name of the province of Holland, for the purpose of paying these regiments: this meant, in other words, to make Holland pay for the war which they were about to wage against itself. It is difficult to imagine anything more strange than this, on the part of a deliberative body; but in disturbed times, all reason, even political reason, that which can be least of all dispensed with, seems to become obscured and to fail with the destiny of the country.

"A new confusion of inclinations and principles served to increase the discredit of the public cause, which both parties daily brought into dispute before the states-general, who were themselves equally astonished at this continual and discreditable fluctuation. There was no longer anything stable except illegality, in consequence of the rapidity and complication of circumstances; thus the *soi-disant* states in Amersfort, whose deliberations were directed by the stadtholder, dared to write to the states-general, requiring that the orders issued by the province of Holland should be revoked, and the general brought to trial for having received and executed them. The officers who had been dismissed by the states of Holland, and equally disowned by the stadtholder's party, applied to the states-general for protection. A discussion took place; Holland, not being able to be a judge in her own cause, had no voice in the deliberation, which was, therefore, carried on

among the six other provinces. The debate was warm; on the first day, there were two votes in favour of the proposition, and three for the *referendum*, and the two representatives of the remaining province were equally divided. In spite of this circumstance, which rendered the question at most indecisive, the president declared in favour of the proposition. On the next day a third vote joined one of the two which had been divided, and voted for the *referendum*, which gave four votes out of six in favour of this opinion. Notwithstanding this, the president of the states did not hesitate to perpetrate an unexampled and scandalous action by concluding in favour of the motion, as he had done the evening before. Thus, a minority of two against four carried the question in the states-general: and all sense of shame took its departure from an assembly which had sustained its reputation with so much renown in so many glorious events. Its wisdom was gone, and its honour tarnished. This striking symptom of decay could not be otherwise than favourable to the party who wished to destroy its sovereignty, and, who, in awaiting the moment for occupying its place, rejoiced in, and profited by, the degradation which it had contrived to bring upon the states, by corrupting and breaking their political bond with the nation.

"The stadtholder's party ventured to go still further. The prince issued a manifesto, in which, after having denounced, as acts of rebellion, the opposition which had been shown in the cities of Amsterdam, Rotterdam, and Utrecht, and having declared, that he

was about to have recourse to every possible means for the destruction of the enemies of public order, he demanded the restoration of the government of the Hague, and the functions of captain-general; declaring that he would then adopt all such measures as might appear necessary for the restoration of tranquillity. Such a declaration was necessarily the precursor of very serious events. It bore, or rather affected, a tone of superiority which must necessarily be maintained by means ready to be adopted. And, in fact, on the 30th of May, the day on which it was presented to the states-general, a violent tumult suddenly broke out in Amsterdam, caused by the Orangist party. Arrangements had been made for an insurrection by the leaders of this party; but the insurrection was not to take place till the 1st of June, according to the plan which had been agreed upon between the stadtholder and Harris, the English ambassador at Nimeguen, where the court then was. The rabble, sold to the prince, and prone by its very nature to disorder, had recourse to acts of violence against the citizens on the 30th of May; and this precipitation injured the success of the plan hatched in Nimeguen. The citizens of Amsterdam had also their party among the populace, who assailed the Orangist mob, and drove it into the sailor's quarters. The prince's party drew up the bridges in order to defend themselves in their position, but the citizen's party succeeded in forcing a passage, and having leaped into the ships and barges, attacked their enemies on all sides, and scattered them in all

directions. The conquerors followed up their victory, pursued the fugitives with cruelty, and plundered the houses of two of the former members of the municipality who belonged to the Orangist party. The citizens, however, succeeded in putting an end to this popular vengeance, in which the disorder was of no advantage, even to those who caused it, for the hatred of the masses was wholly political, and no one ever thought of appropriating any of the riches of any description contained in the houses doomed to destruction. Their object was to injure their enemies, and not to enrich themselves at their expense. This conduct on the part of the lowest populace of a great city, even when victorious in a tumult raised against its interests, proves to what an extent the principles of morality had been inculcated upon the minds of the Batavian people by their republican institutions.

"The populace had had their triumph; and the citizens then proceeded with their ordinary prudence. A careful search, made by their orders among the houses of the people, was attended with the discovery of the most important papers, the knowledge of which, combined with the information derived from those who had been made prisoners, revealed the whole plan of the conspiracy of the power, in which the English ambassador had taken a direct part. They also succeeded in obtaining possession of a quantity of ammunition, of the use of which, seized after the event, the precipitation of the populace had deprived them. It was then manifest, that the prince had

omitted nothing calculated to promote his design of cutting down the citizens, if, as had been so clearly foreseen, there should be any resistance. It was on the strength of this dark and criminal organization that he rested the support of that extraordinary manifesto, which he had dared to send to the states-general. But in consequence of the error of his agents, in precipitating the attack, the plan of the court of Nimeguen failed, and the province of Holland, which would infallibly have shared the fate of its capital, was delivered from the danger with which it was threatened. This was followed by that which almost always survives success and defeat in civil commotions—a feeling of hatred and vengeance, deeper still than that which had been felt at the period of the stadtholder's undertaking against the towns of Elsbourg and Hattem. The province of Holland had established at Woorden a military commission, under the orders of General Van Ryssel, which corresponded with the commission of defence formed at the Hague. The circumstances becoming more dangerous, in consequence of recent events, the province, with a view to make provision for a scheme of proceedings in case of danger, determined on appointing a dictatorial commission of five members, to whom the protection of the country was to be confided. The powers of this commission were unlimited: it was to dispose at pleasure, and without reference to any other authority, of all the means of attack and defence, of the armed bodies of citizens, and finally of the public

treasure: it was not to be called upon to render an account till after the event. This was the only means of being prepared to carry on a struggle against the unforeseen attacks, the plots and insurrections, which, as was now evident from the last outbreak, were aimed at the destruction of the state.

"This proposition was speedily put into the form of a resolution; and the five members of the dictatorial committee were forthwith named. The towns of Haarlem, Leyden, Amsterdam, Gouda and Alkmaer, each named its commissioner. The choice fell upon those who were most distinguished for their abilities and republican virtues. The commissioners were no sooner named than they entered upon their duties; but, notwithstanding the vigour of this salutary institution, it was exposed to danger from a quarter, against which all its power was inefficient—this was the supremacy of the states-general, the sovereign power. There existed something more than a feeling of mere rivalry between the states-general and the states of Holland; and as a proof of their animosity towards each other, all the officers whom the states of Holland had deprived of their commissions for having refused to march to the succour of Utrecht, were restored by the states-general, and those who had remained faithful to Holland were in their turn cashiered. It is true, that on the same day the states of Holland, who paid the regiments, renewed their resolution respecting these officers. This conflict, this obstinate combat between the sovereign and the

province of Holland, gave rise to one of the greatest evils which can befal a state; the necessity imposed upon the troops themselves of determining the question of their obedience. The patriots had committed a capital error, as appeared from the subsequent conduct of the states-general, in not taking care beforehand to secure an absolute majority in that assembly. They calculated too much on the preponderance of Holland, and attached so great an importance to its influence upon the state in general, that they persuaded themselves, that the states-general would prove inefficient and powerless without the aid of this province. This, however, blinded by its good faith, proved utterly deficient in policy; it was a war of republicans who played a bold and open game, against ambitious and skilful courtiers; and, in spite of their virtues, their perseverance, and their courage, they were obliged to give way to the combined powers of intrigue, interest, and treachery. The partisans of the stadtholder never paused in their efforts. The states of Amersfort proposed to the states-general to suspend General Van-Ryssel, who commanded the troops of Holland. On the 10th of June, the states, not satisfied with this measure, interdicted the general from exercising any authority over the troops, and forbade the officers to obey him. The same resolution was also a direct attack upon the obedience of the troops, to the orders of their province. One regiment, that of Stuart, seduced by an officer, violated its oath and left its quarters. The other officers and all the subalterns remained faithful;

and even a part of those who at first deserted returned to their duty. The void caused by this desertion was filled up by volunteer corps, whom the province also paid; but, an example of disorganization had, by this act, been set in the army, by the orders of the sovereign power itself. The bond of the soldiers was broken, and it was to be expected that the first opportunity would lead to the exhibition of deplorable scenes.

"The patriots then saw that all their efforts and all their sacrifices would be useless unless they obtained a majority in the states-general. This, therefore, became the great object of their unceasing efforts. In consequence of this, they hit upon the idea of making only one deputation of that of Amersfort, which was opposed to them, and of that of Utrecht, which was in their favour. Amersfort sent two deputies, and it was determined that Utrecht should send three; and in this manner the vote of the province of Utrecht, of which Amersfort made a part, secured them a majority of three against two. On the 14th of June, the three deputies of Utrecht appeared in the assembly of the states. A discussion, which was continued the next day, arose respecting their admission, and, in spite of opposition from the friends of the stadtholder, the three deputies from Utrecht were admitted by a majority of four against two. This majority did not lose a moment in annulling all the resolutions adopted on the 10th; and, on the same day, without separating, they directed the

council of state to inform General Van-Ryssel, and the chiefs of the regiments, of the change which had just taken place. Notwithstanding this advantage, however, the patriotic party was far from being sure of a durable victory.

"The combat changed its form. The states-general became the true field of battle, and the weapons of warfare were deputations. Amersfort sent three new deputies to the assistance of the two who had been previously there, in order to overwhelm the deputation from Utrecht. The latter city had foreseen this act of reprisals, and it forthwith sent four, which, being joined to the three who had preceded them, ensured them always a majority of seven against five. But the province of Friesland, whose government was separate and completely aristocratic, blamed the conduct of its deputies, and gave them new and opposite instructions, so that the vote of that province was transferred to the side of the stadtholder, and when the new deputies from the two rival towns presented themselves, those of Utrecht were rejected, and those from Amersfort admitted. In this way the states-general continually exhibited to the nation a scandalous spectacle of fluctuation and change, and ceased to be the honour of the seven united provinces, and an example to Europe.

"Disorders of the same kind prevailed in the council of state. It had refused to participate in the resolutions passed against General Van-Ryssel, on the 10th June; it had, however, given orders in con-

sequence, and when these same resolutions were annulled, four days afterwards, it refused to forward the new orders in contradiction of the former; so that the new decision, which re-instated the general and his officers, and placed them again under obedience to the province of Holland, remained imperfect and unexecuted. This was truly anarchy, and the result of cool calculation. Desertion then began to take place among the troops of Holland, and five regiments, which formed the cordon, under the orders of General Van-Ryssel, deserted almost entirely; but they would have remained faithful to the colours of the province which paid them, had the council done its duty.

"The country was in a critical situation, the issue of which might precipitate the overthrow of its liberty. The province of Holland was not, however, discouraged by this desertion; the cities of Rotterdam and Amsterdam raised volunteer corps at great expense, put arms into the hands of the citizens, and replaced their mercenary troops by new levies. Utrecht co-operated skilfully in this new effort. Its states issued a proclamation recalling its contingent of troops, under the colours of the province, and consequently of the local sovereignty. This proclamation produced a considerable effect among the troops of the stadtholder's party, who deserted and returned to strengthen the forces of Utrecht. These measures excited little alarm at Amersfort, because the deserters, who had formed the cordon, and been won over by English money, no longer inspired any confidence. Gueldres

was not more tranquil, and was in constant apprehension of the Holland regiments which it had detained, notwithstanding the order of the province of Holland. Utrecht had now within its walls an army of 7,000 men, and Overyssel had more than 4,000 at Deventer. The forces of the opposite party were very inferior in number, and, besides, the dictatorial commission of the province of Holland continued vigorously to exercise their functions. They had organized all the means both of attack and defence, and made such financial arrangements as to ensure both to officers and soldiers extraordinary pay. The country, however, was divided into four very distinct parties—the first was that of the stadtholder, which wished for the continuance of the stadtholderate with all its usurpations—it was composed of Gueldres, Amersfort, and the nobles of Holland in the states-general; the second, the aristocratic party, which wished to maintain its own authority, and even subdue that of the stadtholder—this was the cause of the patrician families and of those who enjoyed hereditary dignities; the third, the constitutional republicans, who wished to preserve the stadtholderate, without the abuses which had sprung from usurpation, and to restore it to its primitive origin—this party was openly opposed to the aristocracy and the patricians; and, finally, the democratic party, which wished to put an end both to the office of stadtholder and the power of the aristocracy. This was the party of levellers, which was supported by a multitude of

popular societies. These societies sent deputations to the leaders of the governments. Such was the complication of interests under which public affairs groaned.

"In such circumstances as these, it became a matter of prime necessity to have recourse to mediation, in order not to expose the nation to that general confusion which the shock of so many discordant elements would produce. The enlightened patriots of the province of Holland, influenced by the French ambassador, assembled to consult on the means of inducing the states-general to apply for the mediation of France. On account of the parties which might exist in the municipal bodies, it was first desirable to be sure of the wishes of the citizens. Their desires were unanimous, and conveyed to the municipality, which received the resolution, and transmitted it to the deputies of the province, in order to lay the proposal before the states-general. The proposition was agreed to by a majority of twelve to seven. On the succeeding day, the 7th, the resolution of the previous evening was voted *ad referendum;* this was a middle path, adopted by the prudence of some and the treachery of others. It gained time, and was, above all, the very course which was most acceptable to the Orange party.

"On all sides, wherever it was in force, this party had given the signal for the destruction of the constitutionalists, and had committed the most frightful outrages at Zutphen. The garrison of the town was

unexpectedly and without provocation let loose upon the inhabitants, under the pretence of disarming them; the houses of the patriots were sacked and pillaged; the soldiers and officers resumed the Orange cockade, and by their excesses gave evidence of the cause which they had adopted. The same scenes were renewed in the unfortunate towns of Elsbourg and Hattem, and in those of Arnheim, Hochem and Doërburg. The very dregs of the populace made common cause with the soldiers. The same course was pursued at Middleburg, where the massacre of the patriots was added to the plunder and destruction of their houses. The municipality of the town was obliged to carry the Orange standard in procession through the streets, and to place it on the summit of a tower. Flessingue, Helvoetsluys, and Brille, became the scenes of disturbances, more or less violent. The prince's party, weary of so much delay, and apprehensive of the forces which the opposite party was able to bring against them, had secretly fomented these partial outbreaks, and the Hague was just about to become the theatre of similar events, when it was saved by an accidental occurrence.

"On the 28th of July, several carriages, proceeding together, were stopped at a post guarded by a detachment in the service of Holland. These carriages belonged to the princess, who was on her way from Nimeguen to the Hague. The princess was obliged to wait for authority from the general, who was at Woorden, where the sovereign commission, lately

appointed, held their sittings, before she could be allowed to continue her journey. Three members of the commission immediately waited on her royal highness, and represented to her that in the present state of affairs, when the public tranquillity was generally disturbed in the name of the prince, and many towns had been subjected to pillage and massacre, her presence at the Hague could not fail to be used as a pretext by the mal-contents for committing similar disorders. That in consequence, the commission could not take upon itself such a responsibility, but must refer the case to the states, and, in the meantime, they begged her royal highness either to return to Nimeguen, or to wait in the town for the answer of the states. The princess concealed her dissatisfaction, and retired into the small town of Schoonhaven, from whence she wrote to the grand pensionary, requesting authority to continue her journey. The states received the letter, *ad referendum*, and approved of the conduct of the commission. The princess was made acquainted with the decision of the states, and then wrote a letter to that assembly, in which she reproached them, bitterly and haughtily, for having approved of the conduct of the commission. At the same time, the states received a still more violent complaint, on the same subject, from the stadtholder, who treated the affair as an affront to his family. The prince's communication was likewise received, *ad referendum*, by the states of Holland.

"This complaint was, in fact, a manifesto against the

states; and its publicity was the only thing wanting to complete the violence of that animosity of which the prince was the object, and to furnish grounds, perhaps, for just reprisals. The more prudent men, the friends of public order, were desirous of adopting a middle course, such as was calculated at once to maintain the dignity, which the states owed it to themselves to preserve, and the interests of the country. It was equally impossible to reply to the letter of the princess, and to the communication of the stadtholder, without condescending to a violent refutation, and loudly calling down upon them the vengeance of the public. As to the prince, the states had no further reason to hesitate; they should have interdicted him from all access to the province. They had already deprived him of all his dignities, and could not do otherwise than declare him to be an enemy to Holland. They took, however, a different view of the course which it was their duty to pursue towards the princess. They wished to consider her merely as the sister of the King of Prussia, and to make their indulgence in her case a measure of policy. In consequence of this view, they determined on hinting to the princess the policy of separating her cause from that of her husband; in which case, they gave her an assurance of their readiness to recognise the claims of her children —informed her, that she could continue to live in the palace at the Hague, enjoy all the honours attached to her situation, and secure for the office of stadtholder and the sovereignty of the states all that

the law had given them. The exclusion of the prince was merely to be regarded as a personal exception, arising from usurpations of every description, wholly foreign to the office of stadtholder, which they were far from wishing either to abolish or to deprive of its constitutional privileges. On this occasion the states of Holland gave a noble proof of justice and moderation, for their cities, with their inhabitants and their property, had been made objects of the most culpable aggression by the prince, without warning or provocation. It was therefore just to punish him, and him alone, for his tyranny. The plan which they devised was one of great wisdom, but a circumstance of the most serious description prevented its execution.

"The princess made the bitterest and most violent complaints to her brother of the manner in which she had been treated by a body of Holland troops, on her journey to the Hague. In the letter, which, in the meantime, she wrote to the states, she uttered no word of complaint either against the members of the commission at Woorden, or the officer who had interrupted her progress, respecting their personal conduct towards her. The King of Prussia, deceived by the princess's letter, directed his minister to address a note to the states-general, demanding reparation for the insult and outrage which had been offered to his sister, and designating the suspension of her journey as an act of high treason. The states replied to the royal notice by a

detailed explanation of the facts, gave incontestible proofs of the misrepresentations which the princess's letter contained, and did not for a moment doubt that they had satisfied the king; they even thought they might calculate on his influence, in order to prevail on the princess his sister to accept of the conditions which they had proposed to her.

"In the interval between the sending of the note by the cabinet of Berlin and the reply of the estates, the French ambassador, being perfectly cognisant of all the circumstances of the case—the stoppage of the carriages, the acts of the commission of Woorden, and all the disorders which the Orangist party had excited in the province, offered his services to assist in informing Herr Von Thulemeyer, the Prussian ambassador, of the true state of affairs. This offer was accepted both by the states and the Prussian minister, and conferences were opened for this purpose at the French ambassador's hotel. The result of the explanations given by the members of the states, especially by Gislaër, was such as to produce complete conviction in the mind of Von Thulemeyer, who undertook to inform the princess of the desire of the states, that she should change her policy, and separate her own cause from that of the stadtholderate. The minister undertook, at the same time, to communicate to his court an account both of this project and of all the information which he had just received, as well respecting the conduct of the prince, as what was

merely personal to her royal highness, and the obstructions offered to her journey.

"The minister, however, was wrong in flattering himself that he could persuade the princess to give in her adherence to the views of the patriots; she calculated with too much certainty on diplomatic intervention. In fact, news was speedily received at the Hague, from the agent of the republic in Berlin, that an army of 20,000 Prussians was assembled at Wesel, and Von Thulemeyer received orders from his court to declare that these troops were designed to support the demand made for apology and reparation from the states of Holland, for the insults offered to the king's sister—his majesty not having been at all satisfied by the explanations which had been given. The minister notified, moreover, that the camp at Wesel had been judged necessary, on account of the camp of 15,000 men which the French had announced their intention of forming at Givet; but, unfortunately for the patriots of Holland, the latter camp was never really formed.

"The intervention offered by France respecting the recent events, was accepted by the states-general *ad referendum*. Afterwards, the deputies of the provinces, each according to the interests of their constituents, explained that Prussia also, as well as England, was amongst the number of the powers of whose mediation they accepted. Prussia, availing herself of an almost isolated wish, to put herself forward as a mediatrix, persisted in loudly demanding such satisfaction

as the states of Holland could not give without degradation. In the meantime, the Duke of Brunswick, who was entrusted with the command of the army assembled at Wesel, proceeded to Nimeguen and had a conference with the stadtholder. Finally, and to render the difficulties of the case almost insuperable, France herself, more disposed to advise than to take up arms, prevailed upon the states to admit Prussia and England into a share of the mediation. The cabinet of Versailles, by thus deceiving the hopes and confidence of the republican party, committed a great political error. If France had really established a camp of 15,000 men at Givet, Prussia would have recalled her 20,000 men from Wesel, and would not have ventured to risk the chances of a hostile demonstration against France. She would have preferred sacrificing the stadtholder, and been eager to accept for the princess the proposal made by the states; but all prudence, as well as all sense, had equally deserted both parties. The mediation of England was an insult to the states; it was impossible to make any proposal more revolting to the province of Holland than the mediation of England, whose money had been employed to excite those very disturbances and the defection of the troops. There was, on the other hand, great danger in refusing the mediation; and as to that of Prussia, besides embracing the differences of the respective provinces amongst themselves, it was also specially to decide the dispute between the states-general and the stadtholder, although Holland was the

sovereign, and the prince its delegate. In the condition in which France had suffered the question to be placed, it was no longer possible to think of declining the English mediation without, at the same time, rejecting that of France and Prussia.

"In this difficult situation, the states thought of a means suggested by their prudence, and this was, instead of having recourse to the public mediation of the three powers, to treat under the form of a private mediation, to which the force and character of an arbitration should be given. The mediator, in this case, was to be France. A distinguished citizen should be sent to Versailles, and have an interview at Paris with the Prussian minister Count Von Goltz; and these two should plead their respective causes before Count Montmorin, the minister of foreign affairs. The plenipotentiary of Holland was to preserve the strictest incognito, in order to avoid awakening the suspicions of England, and was to assume the character of an ordinary traveller. His instructions were, to propose at first an armistice between the two parties; and then, this point being obtained, to concede the office and dignity of stadtholder to the princess. In this manner it was proposed cunningly to elude English mediation. Paulus, whom we have already mentioned, was by common consent entrusted with this delicate mission. It was impossible to trust the highest interests of the state to a more honourable or skilful man. The French minister, having been consulted on this plan, gave it his sanction.

"As, however, the negotiation necessarily required time, and it was important that the stadtholder should not profit by the delay, in order to recommence a new and successful attack upon Utrecht, an application was made to Versailles to put that city in a proper state of defence. This implied a grant of engineers and artillery, which France sent. The defences were put on a respectable footing, and the troops of the stadtholder soon discovered, on their first attack, that the town must have received powerful reinforcements. At the same time that the court of Versailles granted this aid to the patriots of Utrecht, it required the states of Holland to address a letter to the princess, such as should furnish Prussia with a reason for suspending her military operations. The idea of such a measure was far from being agreeable to the patriots; they regarded it as a positive humiliation, and a step of very doubtful prudence. Would Prussia be satisfied? And if not, would France take up arms to support her opinion? This proposal was received *ad referendum* by the states of Holland. At Amsterdam it was rejected with indignation, and being finally sent back for deliberation to the General Assembly, it was received by a majority of ten against four. Four towns and the equestrian order refused to vote. The letter was then written to the princess in the sense, and with the intention, pointed out by the French minister. Everything, however, had become fatal to the patriots; on the 8th of September, 1787, this resolution had been adopted, the letter written,

sent to the Princess, and a copy transmitted to Thulemeyer to be forwarded to Berlin: and on the next day the minister received from Berlin, and sent to the council of Holland, a note, in which the king, his master, expressed his last terms, which were such as to put a complete end to all hope of any reconciliation whatsoever. The king, moreover, fixed a period of four days, within which time the states were either to comply with his conditions, disavow all that had been done by the Commission of Woorden, respecting his sister's journey, and agree to punish all of whom she had complained, or otherwise the troops at Wesel would enter the territories of the republic. This threatening note, in which the King of Prussia affected absolute dominion over the republic, at once laid open the reasons of his sister's journey, the concerted understanding which had never ceased to be maintained between the courts of Nimeguen and Berlin, and at the same time proved that Von Thulemeyer, instead of receiving orders from his master, only received them from Nimeguen, at the appointed time, to destroy on the morrow all that had been prepared the day before. The patriots perceived also that the negotiation between Prussia and France partook of that weakness which then characterized the court of Versailles, which was buried in the enjoyment of pleasure, on the very brink of that abyss which was soon to swallow it up. Who knows what would have happened had France been faithful to her honour and her policy, and boldly maintained her feelings of friendship for the united

provinces by a grand military demonstration? She gave the signal for a war into which she might have drawn one part of Europe; she could have saved the liberty of her allies, and probably would herself have escaped the revolution.

"By pursuing this course, she would have acted consistently with her conduct in the case of North America, where, without any provocation on the part of England, she had contributed her aid to increase the armies of the insurgents. The interest which she had in defending Holland, was more direct, more just and politic, whilst in abandoning her at the moment of danger, she voluntarily condemned her to be humiliated by Prussia and England. Thus, when the French Revolution broke out, the people of Holland did not forget the grounds of reproach which they had against Louis XVI.

"On the 12th, the states, in reply to the Prussian note, declared that they could enter into no further deliberation on the communication made by Von Thulemeyer, but that two members of the states would be sent to Berlin, to offer the king new explanations respecting the interruption of the princess's journey; that they would write first to the princess to take her opinion on this mission, and that the ministers of France and Prussia should be requested to send a copy of this resolution to their respective courts. In the meantime, however, nothing was neglected to obtain assistance from France. Givet, where there was a good garrison, is so near Holland

that had France been really desirous of rendering any active assistance, succours could still have reached it, in time to have made a useful junction with the Holland troops. Count Esterhazy, who was in command at Givet, was at the Hague; and an ineffectual application for interference was made to him. The people of Holland had now no other resource, than to oppose one disaster by another, by opening their sluices. This ruinous means was far from being sufficient; it was necessary to be well assured of the fidelity of the garrisons, which were for the most part composed of foreign soldiers; and had even this been placed beyond doubt, it would only have given them time to wait for feeble assistance, which would be wholly insufficient to resist the Prussian troops.

"On the 16th, the states were informed of the march of the Prussians, who were advancing in three columns upon the province of Holland; that, the inundation having failed in consequence of drought, the fortified and strong city of Gorcum could not be maintained; and that in three days, the enemy would be at the Hague. It was known, at the same time, that France would interfere with an imposing force, provided a formal requisition to that effect was sent to the king. On the arrival of this news, two resolutions were adopted; first, to evacuate the Hague and remove the seat of government to Amsterdam, which was capable of defence; and secondly, to send without delay to Versailles and formally solicit French troops; all this was too late. Utrecht, on which they thought they

might calculate, was evacuated by the advice of its commandant, the Prince of Salm, and fell into the hands of the enemy; the same took place with respect to Gorcum, which surrendered on the 17th. On the 18th, the Prussians were expected at the Hague, and the town became the scene of the most frightful excesses. The mob, instigated by the partisans of the stadtholder, mounted his colours—abused all who did not wear them—assailed the patriots in all directions—maltreated them—threw them into the canals and plundered and destroyed their houses. The people would have also destroyed the French ambassador's hotel, had not a guard of soldiers been sent for its protection. This frightful tumult—which was repeated in the different towns of the province, and especially in those which lay on the prince's route—lasted fifteen days at the Hague, and was not suspended till the 20th of September, the day on which the stadtholder made his formal entry. By changing the municipal officers in all the towns through which he passed, he gave the signal for the reaction. The new corporations hastened to nominate new deputies to the states; and two small towns alone, together with Amsterdam, maintained those already chosen. In consequence of these new elections, the prince, on his arrival at the Hague, had obtained a majority of sixteen votes against three; and thus the revolution, or, more properly speaking, the counter-revolution was complete. The first act of the states-general was to annul all that had been done against the prerogatives of the stadtholder, and to restore him

to all his dignities. The commission of Woorden was dissolved, and in order more clearly to show the spirit in which these great changes were made, and the influences which dictated them, the states resolved to invite the prince to come to the Hague. They thought themselves obliged to make this reparation, in order, as far as in them lay, to disavow the conduct of their predecessors respecting the journey of her royal highness. Their triumph, however, did not end with what regarded the reform of the government; it was necessary also to humiliate the cabinet of Versailles, which well deserved it in consequence of its unpardonable indifference; and at the same sitting it was resolved, that the King of France should be asked not to send any troops into Holland, to disturb the peace which was now re-established. In this manner, France was made to have a public share in the proscription which annihilated the liberty of Holland, and was dishonoured by being thanked for assistance which it had never sent. The stadtholder and the princess gave themselves up to a delirium of joy, on the attainment of this criminal victory, for which they were indebted to foreign bayonets. From this moment the authority of the stadtholder was a real usurpation, and that usurpation appeared the more intolerable to the people, as the prince was ungrateful, and moreover a revolted subject.

"In the meantime, the Prussians continued their victorious march. The gates of the cities were opened on their approach; Utrecht was surrendered through

the treachery of its commandant, the Prince of Salm, in spite of the efforts of the French engineer and artillery officers, who had put it in a condition to resist any attack. The places constituting the *cordon*, and the little villages in the environs of Amsterdam, defended themselves with obstinate intrepidity, and the Prussians lost great numbers of men before they could obtain possession of them. The small garrisons of these places retreated to Amsterdam, in which the Chevalier de Ternant, a brave and intelligent French officer, had the command. His orders, however, in all these parts, and especially respecting military movements, were necessarily subject to the approval of the municipality, which again depended wholly on the opinion of the citizens. This gave rise to daily obstacles in the execution of his orders, and rendered impossible that rapidity which the variety and necessity of the circumstances connected with the defence of the city imperatively required. This officer, considering it wholly useless to have the command of a town in which the armed inhabitants deliberated upon the orders issued for their safety, determined on giving it up, and secretly quitted the city without being discovered by the Prussians, by whom it was completely invested.

"This city, whose public will had been so courageous, and its determined resistance so strong, since the usurpation of the prince and the commencement of the civil war, had now no other course left than to capitulate. France, which had always been ready

with advice, and never with assistance, was the first to urge the propriety of this course. The capitulation was signed on the 10th of October. As there had been a revolution, followed by a complete victory, there was necessarily a reaction against the conquered party, and this was followed by considerable emigration. The town of St. Omer became the asylum of the emigrants. France distinguished herself by a generous munificence towards the fugitives, her allies. Her army not having rendered assistance, this duty devolved upon her administration, which fulfilled it in a spirit of benevolent liberality, the recollection of which should never perish, either in France or in Holland. It was, however, the duty of France, when emancipated in her turn from political bondage, to make reparation to Holland for the abandonment to which she had been exposed by monarchical France. Her power and influence were completely put aside, even as an ally, by the influence of England, which hastened to form an alliance with the new power. Prussia, and with good reason, too, figured also in these treaties; in conjunction with England and the stadtholder, she formed one of a triple alliance, by which Holland was held captive under the yoke of the most absolute despotism. It was nothing less than a cruel derision, on the part of the three powers, again to speak of Holland under the name of a republic. The two treaties in question were signed in the month of April, 1788.

"When a people fall under the yoke of an oppressive bondage, they must wait for the moment of their de-

liverance. Their instinct will warn them of the circumstances which can set them free. The French revolution, which broke out in the following year, was calculated to awaken the hopes of the Dutch patriots, and to show them, in their old friends the French, new allies who were finally to become their deliverers. The republic of Holland, however—oppressed by the stadtholder, by England and by Prussia—was condemned to form a party in the coalition against free France before becoming free in its turn. Its wisdom, which had survived its independence, protested in vain in the name of the country in danger, and demanded a condition of perfect neutrality. The stadtholder, who had previously subjugated it to his yoke, was destined to save it by exposing it to new perils, and he himself was to fall by the very arms which he had employed against it—by a revolution. Finally, it was necessary that Holland should be conquered by the French republic, in order itself to become a true republic, which it had only in reality been before the establishment of the stadtholderate, and afterwards, before this office had been made hereditary in the house of Nassau-Orange.

"The annihilation of Dutch liberty was effected in less than twenty days, under the very eyes of France. This event caused no inconsiderable disquietude in Europe, and no doubts were entertained that the cabinet of Versailles would prepare to take signal vengeance upon that of Berlin, and that the war might thus become universal in Europe. This was,

unquestionably, the view which ought to have been adopted by Louis XVI., whose kingdom was already beginning to be agitated, and he might probably have succeeded in turning aside the minds of the people from their designs, or at least it would have been then easy to have satisfied the wishes and interests of the citizens and the populace, by a few concessions which would not have endangered the crown. By marching an army to the north, he would have forced England and Prussia to treat with him respecting the independence of Holland. By such a course, which would have been both just and politic, he would have insured the respect of his own subjects, of his allies, and his enemies; then he would have regained that preponderating voice in Europe, which would have given him the free use of the forces of his kingdom, and an opportunity for the glorious struggle of his navy with that of Great Britain. After having easily settled the affairs of Holland by his powerful intervention, he would have equally decided those of France herself. His alliance with Spain and Austria would have been strengthened by that of Prussia, and he would thus have become the head and chief of the quadruple alliance. The effect of this imposing position would have been to have brought about a peace between Russia and Turkey, and to have protected Poland against the oppression of the former power, as he would have defended Holland against Prussia. Moreover, England and Prussia, being thus isolated in the great general policy of Europe, would

not have assumed the character of dictators, which they exercised at that period. Prussia, hemmed in by its three great neighbouring empires, would have been constrained to be thankful for permission to exist. England would have remained alone against Europe, and the France of Louis XVI. might have been able to realize what the France of the revolution afterwards undertook under less favourable circumstances. This quadruple alliance was attempted and concluded; and in spite of the weakness of the French ministry, it would have changed the whole condition of Europe, but Cardinal Lorménie eluded that glory with perseverance. The secret of the treaty was betrayed, and the French ministry changed. Prussia now assumed in Europe the place of France, which was monstrous; and Holland became nothing better than a province of England. Austria joined Russia in the war against the Turks, whilst the latter fought against the Swedes and Poles. The Poles threw themselves into the arms of the King of Prussia, who had become the protector of the Germanic Empire. Joseph the Second trembled on his imperial throne. Brabant revolted, and declared itself free. Prussia, which had just destroyed the legal liberty of Holland, supported the insurrection in Belgium. The revolution spread over France, and threatened Europe.

"The spirit of independence was not completely extinct in Holland, and the hatred which the victorious party of the stadtholder inspired increased from day

to day, and was especially nourished by the fermentation which prevailed in Brabant. Two violent republicans, Van-der-Noot and Van-der-Mersch, had appeared in these disturbances; their object was to rouse the whole of the population against the Austrians, to drive them out of the country, and to proclaim national independence. The conquest, or rather the subjugation, of Holland, had cost the stadtholder only twenty days, and the reduction of the insurgents in Brabant was an operation scarcely more difficult for the Austrians. But, notwithstanding these successes of force, the inhabitants of these two neighbouring provinces, naturally enemies to each other, only waited for the favourable moment to regain those advantages which they had just lost. The invasion of Brabant by the army of the French republic soon avenged the Belgians for the Austrian reaction. The French were everywhere received as liberators. Holland would have escaped conquest, and would of herself, at a later period, and by her own strength, have accomplished her deliverance from the yoke of the stadtholder, had not the cabinet of London, which had all of a sudden come forward as an enemy of the liberty of nations, notwithstanding the bloody example which Great Britain herself had set a century before, drawn Holland, her vassal, into all the dangers of the coalition.

The conquest of Brabant was the true reason which led the English to war. The English ministry hoped to recover Belgium by the army of the allies, and also

to free themselves from all uneasiness respecting Holland. It would, however, have been more natural to conclude, that Brabant being conquered and contented to be in the power of the French, France would suddenly and with advantage, pounce upon Holland, where the vengeance and oppression of the stadtholder had created so many partisans of revolutionary principles. Dumouriez, therefore, was no sooner victorious at Jemappes, than he made all possible speed to enter Holland. He had already taken Breda and Gertruydenburg, and was besieging Willemstadt and Bergen-op-zoom, when the disagreements which existed between him and his generals, and also among the generals themselves, placed Belgium anew under the power of Austria, by the loss of the battle of Neerwinden. The coalition raised the shout of victory, but it was soon obliged to pay for its first success, which was the result of the misunderstandings among the French leaders, and perhaps of an understanding with the Prince of Cobourg, of which Dumouriez was accused. Whatever may have been the fact with respect to this treason, the convention sent commissioners to arrest him in his camp at Maulde; he seized them and sent them to the Austrians. This must be regarded as a wicked action, baser than even treason itself. He might have quitted his country without delivering up his fellow-citizens; he would then have been nothing more than a deserter in dread of punishment. Dumouriez had entertained the idea of delivering up Louis XVI. himself, but was not in a condition to do it. After the death of this monarch,

he had the strange and extraordinary vanity to propose marching with his army to Paris, to destroy the convention which had condemned the king; and he was himself fortunate in escaping the vengeance of that army, of which he was in the habit of speaking with as much arrogance as if it had belonged to him. Dumouriez was neither a good general nor a good Frenchman. If he could not occupy Holland, he should, at least, have preserved Belgium; and under no circumstances should he have threatened his country with civil war, in order to punish its government—that is, to avenge himself. He betrayed and deserted his country, and spent a contemptible life in exile, gaining a scanty subsistence, by the use of his pen, in Hamburgh. England, which refused an asylum to Napoleon, gave one to Dumouriez! In that country he prolonged his exile, for France never wished for his return. There was no Frenchman who ever could have recalled him; he is the first who has ever been guilty of treason at the head of a French army, and he died abroad, amongst strangers and in their pay.

"At the close of 1794, the republic felt itself in a condition to revenge the affronts which Dumouriez had received at the gates of Holland. The armies of the North, and of the Sambre and Meuse, were encamped on the left bank of the Rhine and the Meuse. Holland, becoming fearful and restless under this proximity, sent to treat respecting peace. It was then, however, a part of the political religion of France to make war in the name of principles, and it resolved to

punish the stadtholder for his usurpations over the liberties of the Batavian people. There was still another reason, that of driving out the English, who had no other military position upon the Continent than Holland, and of thus, by their expulsion, annihilating the Orangist party, of whom they constituted the political support. In consequence, the Dutch plenipotentiaries were sent back, and it was resolved to lend a helping hand to the patriots of 1787, whose wishes, long compressed, were ready to burst forth with new energy, for the re-establishment of their liberty and the destruction of the stadtholderate. The republic politically appreciated the position of Holland; and its generosity towards the Dutch constituted the whole of its policy, for the government published a declaration, that it would only attack Holland to secure her independence; and it kept its word. The danger to the stadtholder's government becoming every day more imminent, and the states still hoping to calm the storm and ward off its violence, notwithstanding the dismissal of its plenipotentiaries, asked for an armistice. The French republic was consistent in its designs, and refused. The frost had set in, and Pichegru, who was at that time both a good citizen and a good general, waited till it should become so intense as to freeze all the rivers, when he meant to commence his operations. On the 27th of December, the Meuse was frozen; he commenced with an attack upon the island of Bommel, and extended his operations at the same time along the whole of the frontiers. The bri-

gades of Osten and Daendels passed the river in safety—marched against the island, and, though unprovided with cannon, took possession of its batteries. This movement was executed by the troops of Daendels. Those of Osten, at the same time, crossed the inundations, carried three forts, and passed the Waal in the same manner; and the very strong town of Heusden, finding itself blockaded, was obliged to capitulate. The Dutch troops commenced, on all sides, a retreat upon Willemstadt—abandoning the isles which defended the mouths of the Scheldt, the Rhine, and the Meuse, all the positions, all the passages, and all the fortresses. On the very first day, they lost an entire corps whose retreat was cut off, nearly 2,000 prisoners, and a vast quantity of artillery. These operations were executed simultaneously on a preconcerted plan, by the left and centre of the French army.

"The right at first met with resistance. A corps in position at Thiel was obliged to re-cross the Waal before 7000 Austrians. England had 25,000 of them in pay in Dutch Brabant and Holland, under the orders of Alvinzy. This attack, which was followed by no result, had been agreed upon at an extraordinary council, which was convoked at Nimeguen, by the two sons of the stadtholder, and the generals of the allies. The stadtholder was still in possession of Gorcum with the grand army and that of the states-general, and was supported by the English between Culenburg and the canal of Sanderen. Alvinzy's army defended the Rhine, from

Wesel to Arnheim. All the attacks of the French were combined on this river; they were engaged in besieging Mayence and Mannheim with success, whilst the Prussians and Austrians had united their forces for the relief of these cities, but to no purpose. The Prussian army already resumed that system of inaction which it had adopted in Holland. The cause of the stadtholder was daily more compromised by his allies themselves; and, above all, by those whom he had wished to make his subjects. The town of Grave, after a two months' siege, was compelled to surrender, and gave the French the command of the Meuse. In like manner, the capture of Thiel secured to them the passage of the Waal, which Macdonald passed below Nimeguen. Moreau commanded the right wing of the army of the north, and was covered by Vandamme. Two columns, under Reynier and Jardon, passed the Waal; then Macdonald appeared under the walls of Nimeguen, took a very strong post, and beat the combined forces of the English and Austrians. The line of the French operations embraced a part of the left bank of the Rhine, and was protected by the occupation of places on the Meuse, such as Ruremonde, Venloo, and Grave, which kept open its communication with the country to the rear. In the centre, it occupied the district between the Waal and the Meuse; Bommel, Naardem, Gertruydenburg, and Breda, were blockaded by the left wing of the army, which extended also to the banks of the Moerdyk and to Willemstadt. In consequence of this position of

the French army, all that Holland could call her national barriers were become nearly useless for her defence, and the invasion of the whole territory could no longer be a matter of doubt. The province of Utrecht was, from its position, that which must first fall under the yoke of the conqueror. A crisis of nature came at this moment to the aid of the besieged government. A thaw came on, which placed the whole of the French army in a difficult position by the breaking up of the ice on the Waal, and thus cut off the communications between the main body of the army and the divisions which occupied the territory called the Island of Batavia, situated between the Waal and the Rhine. Every exertion was made to furnish them with supplies of all kinds, but there was great reason to fear that the whole success of this fortunate invasion, which depended on the strength of the ice, would be lost, and that recourse must be had to all the tedious operations of an ordinary campaign, after the sufferings of a severe winter. Fortunately, the frost returned with all its previous intensity, and the troops in the Island of Batavia were delivered from danger.

"The army commenced its operations anew on the 11th of January. The enemy was forced along the whole line; after a bloody encounter, Buren and Cuilenburg surrendered. The allies retired on the right bank of the Rhine, and some of the forts of Gertruydenburg were taken. Pichegru had an immense advantage in this undertaking, in the moral

conspiracy of the people in favour of the republic. The towns which were taken they regarded as delivered; and it was so in reality. The citizens, oppressed for seven years by the nobles, went out to meet the conqueror. On every new success, the French general found additional auxiliaries, and loosened the bond between the allies and the stadtholder's troops. Two affairs were going on at the same time, which gave each other mutual aid—a revolution in favour of the invaded nation, and a war against its oppressors; the latter was kept no secret, for the convention caused it to be everywhere proclaimed by its agents.

"The Dutch general, Daendels, who, from the very commencement of the disturbances, had taken refuge in France, to escape the vengeance of the stadtholder, addressed a communication to the towns of his native country, in the following terms:—'The representatives of the French people call upon the Dutch nation to deliver itself from bondage. They have no wish whatever, as conquerors, to reduce it to subjection, or to force it to accept assignments, but *to form an alliance with it as a free people.* Let Dort, Haarlem, Leyden, and Amsterdam, then, organize and make the revolution, and determine its nature by deputies, their representatives, in Bois-le-duc.' It was impossible to pursue a better line of policy. Such language, supported and confirmed by the movements and success of a noble army, could not fail to produce an immense effect. It was calculated at once to con-

vince and to exalt the people. This war might have been well and justly called, the war of the public welfare; for it was advantageous to two nations, and that, too, in a manner altogether beyond suspicion. There was a well-understood service—a natural feeling of gratitude, and a near and indissoluble alliance.

"Daendels' letter was rapidly circulated through all the towns; in Leyden its effect was electrical; the citizens peaceably declared to their magistrates that their functions were at an end, and proceeded to appoint others. The revolution was conducted *en famille*. On the same day on which the letter was received in Amsterdam, the same course was pursued in Leyden, with this single difference, that the magistrates asked twenty-four hours for deliberation; but whilst they were deliberating, one of Daendels' aides-de-camp arrived, who made them responsible for the public tranquillity. The burgomasters then resigned their office, and a French commandant assumed the duties relinquished by an officer of the stadtholder. The national colours were hoisted; every one submitted to the rule of the republic, and, on the next day, Daendels entered Amsterdam with some troops. Utrecht had, in like manner, thrown open its gates to Pichegru. The plan adopted by the convention was thus completely successful. It was Holland herself that had carried out this revolution, under the protection of France. Changes continued to be daily effected, from the 15th to the 31st of January. After the 17th, and before the revolution

in Leyden and Amsterdam, the stadtholder had gone to the states-general and resigned all his offices and dignities, for himself and his two sons. From thence he proceeded direct to Scheveningen, and embarked, with his family, for England.

"The King of Prussia, who seven years before braved monarchical France, and dared to send an army to bring Holland under the yoke of his brother-in-law, and who, by virtue of the treaty of Antwerp, made with England and Austria, had engaged to raise 60,000 men for the objects of the coalition, now remained an unmoved spectator of the ruin of the stadtholder, and of the triumph of the French republic over his allies. This remarkable inconsistency with the principles which he had maintained in 1787, and which he had fully recognised by recent treaties, was made equally manifest by the inaction of General Mollendorf, whose co-operation would have been so useful to German patriotism, in enabling the allies to raise the sieges of Mayence and Mannheim. Conduct like this announced a complete change of policy. Frederick-William, with his allies, had just destroyed the kingdom of Poland, and shared the spoils of that conquest, in which his arms reaped but little glory. This prince had, apparently, no liking for anything but such successes as were at once infallible and useful. From the bottom of his heart he would have wished to destroy the French republic also, as he had done the kingdom of Poland, and to become a sharer in the spoil. The scheme of

partition had been indeed premeditated, agreed on, and stipulated at Pilnitz, and a large portion of France was, in their own minds, destined to be the prey of the allies. But France was a very different enemy from Poland; although, at that time, she had no citizen so great as *Kosciusko.*

"The King of Prussia had, no doubt, calculated that even if he should defend Holland, he would be no less obliged, at a later period, to defend himself at home. He had the courage to give to all monarchies an example, which, no doubt, indicated more policy than generosity or fidelity to his engagements. During the time that his allies were being beaten from the coasts of Holland to Mannheim, he was carrying on negotiations for peace in Basle, with the committee of public safety which all the monarchs of Europe had placed under the ban. This government has for twenty years preserved the privilege of being disposed to make peace with its enemies, and to go to war with its friends; to make and unmake treaties, and to carry on a double line of negotiations, in order that it may always attach itself to the stronger. At this period, the arms of France were in the ascendant; and the court of Berlin sought for the friendship of the republic, because its friendship constituted a protection.

"Notwithstanding the departure of the stadtholder and his family, the war continued to be carried on in Holland by the Anglo-Austrian army, but merely on the position of a retreat against an invasion. This

was the French inundation over the ice of the Batavian inundation. Vandamme had been at Utrecht from the 17th of January; the English evacuated the town in the presence of our troops; it was a pursuit in full view. The army of the Sambre and Meuse formed a junction with the army of the north, and when the latter marched on the Yssel, the former occupied its position in the territory of Cleves. On the 18th of January, the city of Amersfort, which had been the seat of government since the revolution of 1787, fell into the power of Macdonald's division, and with it the whole country as far as Leek, to the north of Amsterdam. This corps was the advanced guard of the centre, which was under the orders of Moreau. This general replaced the divisions on the Rhine, which had been sent forward. On the 18th, the day on which these movements took place, Pichegru having entered Amsterdam, Gertruydenburg capitulated; and, four days afterwards, the left of the army having marched on the ice, across an arm of the sea, took possession of Dort, Rotterdam, the Hague, &c. The convention resounded with the miraculous triumphs of the republican armies.

" Two noble citizens, Paulus and Schimmelpenynck, did honour to their country, and can never be forgotten in France. The former, in his character of president of the states-general, convoked an assembly at the Hague, which constituted itself under the name of the *Provisional Representatives of the Dutch People.* This body adopted, as its model, the government and

usages of liberating France. The sovereignty of the people, the rights of man, and the equality of citizens, were announced with acclamations; committees of public safety were established, the abolition of the stadtholderate pronounced, and the oath to the constitution of 1787 annulled. The French general had his instructions; he issued a proclamation which forbade the Dutch troops to be disarmed; and no better proof could be given either of the strength or the intentions of his government.

"This course was very skilfully adapted; for there is nothing more grievous to the conquered, than to be disarmed. France had no desire to conquer the Dutch—she only conquered them with a view to their liberty and independence. Finally, the new states decreed, that their troops should take an oath not to carry arms against France; and, on the 24th of January, they sent orders to all the cities and towns to open their gates.

"At this period a feat of arms was accomplished, quite new in the history of nations. The Dutch fleet, which was frozen up in the Zuider Zee, was captured by our artillery and light cavalry: this must be regarded rather as a singularity than a prodigy—above all, after the march which the army had made across the rivers and canals by which Holland is intersected in all directions. In this way the most insurmountable means of defence had become natural means of attack, which permitted the invaders to approach the objects of their assault on those sides on which their

points of defence were entrusted to the sluices and canals. The taking of the Dutch fleet by the French cavalry presented something so marvellous and unexampled in the annals of war, that it made a greater impression upon Europe than the gaining of a pitched battle would have done. Middleburg, Flessingue, and, finally, Zeeland, although defended by the sea, surrendered to the French troops, which were established there in a strong military position. Terror seized upon the English in all directions, and their precipitate retreat before the smallest movements of our troops decided the army to march on the Yssel, the attack of which appeared to have been put off till the spring. Between the 3rd and the 11th of February, the whole province of Overyssel was occupied, and the English retired into the two most distant provinces, those of Friesland and Groningen. Thither they were followed by the divisions of Moreau and Macdonald. Groningen surrendered, after some engagements in the environs, where the allies had fortified themselves. Their fixed retreat, however, was still honoured by some warm affairs. At length they evacuated the country. The English, repelled by the inhabitants, and pursued by the French, retreated in all haste to embark at Bremen, and the conquest of Holland completed the grand system of the frontiers of France. The whole Rhine belonged to her; there was no longer an electorate or sovereign bishopric on its banks. Austria and the German princes had lost all their possessions on this river. The Rhine fortress

opposite Mannheim was in the power of the French; that town and Mayence were closely invested, and about to fall under the repeated assaults of the besiegers. The taking of Savoy, and of the country of Nice, the occupation of a portion of Biscay and Catalonia, had brought the Pyrenees and the Alps within the circuit of the republican limits. The military glory of the French republic was sufficiently attested by the glorious results of the campaigns of 1794 and 1795. The capture of a hundred and fifty cities, one hundred engagements, and twenty-nine pitched battles, exalted the French name above that of all the other nations of Europe—even above the most glorious recollections of its own history. Such was the glory of France, and the war in Italy had not then taken place.

"The relations between France and Holland were settled by a treaty of peace. This was the work of Sièyes, and established a happy harmony between the interests of the two nations. In its negotiations, the convention kept strictly in view the principles by which it had been animated during the war. The first article of the treaty recognised *the sovereignty and independence of the united provinces;* but it was necessary for the French government to retain securities, and the armies of France kept possession of those strong places which England might have seized upon by surprise.

"Sièyes having presented the Dutch negotiators in a solemn sitting of the convention, the treaty was

ratified. In this sitting, the influence of the convention insensibly exalted the grave character of the Dutch, and they in their turn allowed themselves to be warmed by the clubs and popular societies, whose authority had at that time risen, as was the case in France, above that of the magistrates. These acts of violence constituted, indeed, but feeble reprisals against the partisans of the house of Orange, who, in the year 1787, had caused numerous towns to be sacked, and crowds of patriots to be drowned by their emissaries; these disturbances were, however, soon appeased. The national moderation assumed its ascendancy; and justice healed all wounds. On the 28th of January, 1796, the joyful anniversary of the establishment of the Batavian republic, a grand solemnity was celebrated at the Hague. The opening of the National Assembly, of which the celebrated Peter Paulus was elected president, took place on the 1st of March. This noble citizen did not, however, long enjoy the splendid recompence bestowed on his patriotism, for on the 17th of the same month, the people, whom he had so energetically defended against the stadtholder, followed him to his grave.

"After the convention, the Batavian republic had a collision with the directory, which sent it a constitution. There could be no charter, however excellent, to which there would not have been a strong opposition in Holland, on the very ground of its being sent from a foreign country, notwithstanding the terrific preponderance of the French republic. A fortunate circumstance came suddenly to the aid of the Bata-

vians, to whom their opposition to France might have become fatal. The government of the Hague received intelligence, that a squadron of six French vessels had arrived in Batavia, had been there received, and protected that important colony against the attacks of England. Out of gratitude for this signal service, which could scarcely have been expected, the constitution sent by the Directory was accepted, and the Dutch sea and land forces were placed at the disposal of France. In the conferences which were held at Lille, it is worthy of remark, that England only asked a trifling indemnity for the dispossessed stadtholder, and the King of Prussia observed profound silence respecting the fate of his brother-in-law, to whom, seven years before, he had given an army. It was in accordance with the conduct of this prince, to push his neutrality to extremes. The house of Nassau had disappeared irrecoverably, and Dutch liberty was peaceably installed in its stead, by the mere will of France. Thus this power, reconstituted, freed, and protected by the grand republic, participated with the latter in all its hatred against England; and with it also continued to the very last to be regarded by the English as an object both of vengeance and jealousy.

"In spite of the defection of the courts of Prussia and Spain, which had entered into treaties with the committee of public safety, the coalition still included a most formidable triple alliance, of which the powers were, Austria, Russia, and England. Italy and Switzerland were occupied by Austro-Russian armies, and an Anglo-Russian one appeared unexpectedly on

the coasts of Holland, whose independence England wished, at any cost, to destroy, and to wrest it from the power of the French republic. Forty thousand men of these two nations disembarked under the orders of a son of England—the Duke of York. This great undertaking was supported by a considerable fleet, which, if it had succeeded, and in the situation in which the Directory had then allowed itself to be entangled in the affairs of Italy and Germany, would have annihilated all the triumphs of France on the Rhine, which would have been to endanger the existence of the republic.

"The Austrians were also in force; and the French soil might have been attacked by its old frontiers. General Abercrombie commanded the advanced guard of the Anglo-Russian force, and was opposed by General Daendels with as many Batavian troops as he could collect, but without effect. The passage of the Helder was forced, and a most shameful treason on the part of the Dutch marine delivered up the Dutch fleet on the first appearance of the English in the Zuider Zee, and it was again united with the British flag. Brune collected 25,000 men, and hastened to North Holland to repel the invasion of the Duke of York. Several engagements, without any decided results, served to signalize the courage of our soldiers. The Anglo-Russians advanced, and gained a solid footing in the country, and it would have been all over with the Batavian republic, had the whole 40,000 men disembarked on one day. The English reckoned

on the aid of the stadtholder's party in driving out the French, and reducing Holland again under the yoke of the house of Orange. The time, however, had not yet arrived; the cowardice of the fleet which had submitted to them without a combat, gave them the best reason to hope for success. Amsterdam, however, was to be again called upon to act a great part in the destinies of Holland. On the news of the taking of the Texel by the English fleet, and when there was nothing more to prevent them from approaching its very walls, Amsterdam armed all her batteries, opened her coffers, raised national levies, and established defences by means of her canals. Forty gun boats were armed as if by enchantment; reinforcements from France arrived, and that beautiful capital was saved. Notwithstanding the example given by the navy, and the immense advantages which commerce might have flattered itself with deriving from an accommodation with England, love for their country and hatred towards the stadtholder prevailed. It was, indeed, a nation of merchants, but it possessed, in the highest degree, the virtues of a nation which was free, and which deserved to be so. It rose against strangers. General Brune took advantage of this natural impulse, to organize an imposing force. He not only stopped the progress of the enemy, but proved victorious in two pitched battles; at Castricum and Alkmaer. The Batavian troops distinguished themselves, and proved themselves worthy of fighting in the French ranks; their generals merited every com-

mendation. Brune was justly hailed as the deliverer of the Batavian republic; the Romans would have decreed him the honours of a triumph.

"By saving Holland, he saved France from invasion, and the day of Alkmaer was decisive of the fate of the Anglo-Russian expedition. The Duke of York, driven into the sand hills, cut off from his fleet, encumbered with wounded, and destitute of supplies, resolved to negotiate. The French general did not conceal from himself the important loss which he had suffered, nor how many brave men his victory had cost him, and he eagerly accepted the proposition of the enemy. Conferences were established, the negotiators soon came to an understanding, and the capitulation was signed. By virtue of this treaty, the Duke of York was to evacuate all the positions which he occupied on the Zuider Zee, to re-embark his troops, and to send from England 800 French prisoners in exchange for the same number of Anglo-Russians, who were given up to him. General Brune has been reproached for not having required the restitution of the Texel fleet.

"The issue of this formidable expedition raised the patriotic courage of the Batavians, who had so nobly rushed to arms to repulse a foreign invasion. From that moment, the political and military destinies of the two republics became inseparable.

"Four times after this period did the Dutch uselessly change the form of their government, each change being founded upon a similar operation in the

forms of the government of France, but none of them proved sufficient to re-establish the prosperity of the country. The sternest patriots in Holland recognised the advantages which this country would derive from being incorporated with the French empire, but they were kept back in their resolves by the loss of their nationality; on the other hand, the partisans of the Prince of Orange consisted merely of those who regretted the loss of offices and employments which were no longer necessary in a republic, and the whole of the nobility of Gueldres would rally eagerly around the throne of a King of Holland.

"The Grand-Pensionary Schimmelpenynck requested urgently to be allowed to resign his power; all the assistance of art had proved unequal to save the country, and the highest functionaries of the state proclaimed aloud the necessity of trusting to the fortune of France the future good or ill of their unfortunate country.

"The opportunity was excellent for removing Holland from the influence and commerce of England, but was it more advisable to reunite it to the empire, or to form it into a new kingdom, under the sceptre of a French prince?

"The former of these plans might have increased the difficulties of a negotiation for a general peace; it would have burthened the treasury of France with the payment of an enormous debt, which at that time amounted in capital to a sum exceeding two millions of francs, and the annual interest of which exceeded

80,000,000, and that in presence of a system of imposts, which reached every taxable article, and deprived the Dutch of sixty-five per cent. of their income. It is true, the union with France would have discharged Holland from all those obligations towards France which treaties had imposed on her, but this would only have been to deprive France of so much of her resources. The Batavian republic was obliged to pay an annual subsidy of 25,000,000 francs, and to maintain an army of 25,000 French on a war footing. This led to the greatest abuses, but all in favour of France. The French regiments were all sent successively to Holland to be clothed, mounted, and paid. These circumstances formed a serious counterbalance to the advantages which might have been derived from the union, and all yielded in importance to a system which would place Holland, politically, within the sphere of French interests, leaving to it the possession of its own nationality, with monarchical forms under the crown of a French prince. I was firmly of opinion that no human consideration would be able to withdraw one of my brothers from my supreme dictation, nor turn him aside from his duties towards me, as the chief and benefactor of the family.

"The individuals sent to Paris by the states-general as ambassadors extraordinary, were Admiral Werhuel, Gogel, the minister of finance, Van Styrum and William-Six, councillors of state, in order to declare that Holland, seeing no other prospect except that of

a frightful national bankruptcy, the results of which it was impossible to foresee, requested its incorporation in the empire as a favour, which would relieve it from the burthen of its military condition, and restore it to the commerce of the empire. They even proffered in this case to allow their debt to remain chargeable upon themselves, and to make every exertion to pay, provided they were no longer called upon to submit to a greater amount of taxation than the French.

"The ambassadors remained four months in Paris, and were, at length, authorised to offer the crown of Holland to Prince Louis. 'We come,' said they, 'of our own accord, and supported by the suffrages of nine-tenths of our fellow-countrymen, to entreat you to unite your fate with ours, and to save a whole people from the perils with which they are threatened.'

"The prince did not dissemble the repugnance which he felt to undertake the burthen of a crown, and it was necessary to command in order to induce him to decide. When the minister for foreign affairs went to St. Leu, to submit the constitution of Holland for his signature, he said to him: 'It is impossible for me to form a judgment of the contents of such an important document at one reading, being a stranger to all the preliminary discussions which have taken place; I do not know whether they may not call upon me to promise more than I shall be able to fulfil. The only assurance which it is possible for me to give, is, that I will devote myself with zeal to the interests of Holland, and use my best endeavours to

justify the good opinion of me with which, no doubt, the Emperor my brother has inspired you.'

"All Louis's impressions at that time were under the dominion of a morbid state of mind. He avowed to his most intimate friends, that he felt in a condition of moral spasm, which rendered life insupportable; but that, by his acceptance of the throne, he hoped for a cure. 'In Holland,' he said, 'the interests and wants of the public, and the administration of their affairs, will completely occupy my mind; I shall carry with me into my adopted country all my best affections, and I shall probably be able, by degrees, to recover from my physical and moral prostration.' Mistrust, however, already governed all his actions, even before he left Paris, for a single word which escaped from Talleyrand gave him reason to suspect that he was sacrificed to a mere political expedient.

"The solemnity of the proclamation of the King of Holland took place at St. Cloud, and made a great sensation in the political world, in consequence of the declaration of the reasons assigned by the Batavian republic for placing itself under the dominion of a French prince.

"As a king, Prince Louis always exhibited a truly paternal solicitude for the interests of his people, and sacrificed to them even all his patriotic feelings as a Frenchman; and no Dutchman could ever say, that he was a more ardent lover of his country than the king. His abdication, after a reign of five years, was the

action of a morbid mind, but the consequence of the course of political conduct which he pursued, in direct contradiction to those principles which had placed the crown on his head. The error which my brothers committed consisted in not comprehending that they were not, and could not be, kings, except as supporters of my policy; and that their kingdoms could never acquire prosperity except as satellites of France. The act of the King of Westphalia in quitting the grand army with his guard, in order not for a moment to be under the command of a French marshal, and that of the King of Holland, in submitting, as a question to his privy council, whether they should not, at the cannon's mouth, refuse entrance into Amsterdam to the corps of Marshal Oudinot, are things which common sense could scarcely believe, were it not that the testimony of credible witnesses of those moments of infatuation does not permit the facts to be doubted.

"The first cause of coolness between the King of Holland and my cabinet, was a question respecting commercial duties. The manufactures of Leyden, and the linens of Overyssel and Haarlem, suffered extremely from the protection granted to articles of the same description by the tariff of customs established in the empire, and I constantly resisted all the importunities of the king to obtain some reduction or modification of these duties.

"Shortly afterwards, the military condition of Holland became also a subject of vexation and bitterness. I required that its army should be maintained

on a respectable footing, and on this promise I had consented to withdraw the 25,000 Frenchmen, whom the Dutch had hitherto been obliged to support, clothe, and pay, in compliance with the treaty of 1799. The Dutch army, however, underwent most important reductions in its effective force, and secret orders from the king had successively recalled into the ports of Holland, under pretence of repairs, but, in fact, to be disarmed, the vessels belonging to the flotilla of Boulogne. There was no longer left at Boulogne anything except a few Dutch sloops, out of a flotilla of above one hundred sail. I was deeply offended, as a sovereign and a brother, but I confined myself to writing thus to Louis—'You are sacrificing your navy to an unseasonable idea of reform; you will lose your colonies, and I shall do nothing for Holland, if you diminish your land and sea forces. It is necessary to have 50,000 men, and twenty sail of the line. It is not you who can save Holland, it is only the sincerity of her progress in my line of policy. Why do you interfere? Flushing has not been divided; withdraw from it the Dutch administration which impedes the execution of my orders. I wish to have no other commandant there than my own. I am desirous of carrying on great works there, which will be for the advantage of the country, and of the administration of Zeeland, with which I do not wish to interfere.'

"When war with Prussia became imminent, I thought it necessary to collect at Wesel a body of troops, Dutch and French, and I wrote to Louis, 'You

will make a useful diversion at Wesel, where I beg you to concentrate your army, which I shall augment by the addition of a division of my troops. This army shall be called the army of the north, of which you will take the command, and you will so manage as to give the impression that it is larger than it really is. If the Prussians become aware of the change of my dispositions, and invade Holland, they are lost, and if they do not do so, they are equally lost. Whilst they suppose that I am arranging my line of operations to march on the Rhine, I have already calculated that in a few hours after the declaration of war, they cannot prevent me from outflanking their left, and bearing down upon them with a greater force than they can oppose, or than is necessary for their destruction. Their line once broken, all their efforts to succour their left will result to their disadvantage; and if cut off in their march, they will fall successively into my line. The results will be incalculable; perhaps in six weeks I may be in Berlin—my army is stronger than that of the Prussians—and even if they should beat me at first, they shall soon afterwards find me in their centre with 100,000 fresh troops, and bent on the execution of my plan.

"'Marshal Mortier will manœuvre with the 8th corps, in order to get possession of Hesse-Cassel, and to drive out the elector, who is Prussian both in his heart and as a general in the service of that kingdom. He only wishes to remain neutral in order the better to serve the King of Prussia, and to injure my army,

in the rear of which he wishes to find himself placed by the events of the opening of the campaign. It is necessary that the army under your command should be always in readiness to give assistance to Marshal Mortier, who has but few troops under his orders.'

"The King of Holland obeyed. But how? And yet he had written to me, 'My co-operations as a king allied with your majesty, shall be as free and open as the friendship which I feel for your majesty as a brother, and which has subsisted since my earliest youth.'

"The details respecting the composition of the army which was to be collected at Wesel, were very offensive to the King of Holland. Each brigade was to be formed of a French and a Dutch regiment. The chief commands were to be reserved to the French generals, even to that of the artillery, although the whole of the batteries were to be furnished by the Dutch artillery.

"These two circumstances—the occupation of the electorate of Hesse, and the fusion of the Dutch regiments into the French ranks—made a deep and bitter impression upon the king, who said he owed it to his honour to show the troops of his new country in line; and this co-operation in a project calculated to injure a prince with whom he was on the most friendly terms was very repulsive to his feelings of delicacy. In what regarded the organization of the army, he was obliged to obey, but he flattered himself that it would be possible for him to avoid allowing a single man in

his army to enter the territory of Hesse-Cassel. In this hope he was deceived, for Marshal Mortier, by virtue of the Emperor's orders, insisted on an active co-operation; and on the 1st of November, the king of Holland was on his march in person against Hesse-Cassel. When the elector sent his first equerry to compliment him, he availed himself of the opportunity to say to that prince, that he had been obliged to invade his territory—for being necessarily engaged in the war, and having the command of a corps of the French army, he had to conform to the plan of operations by which the whole was regulated; but as a neighbour and a sovereign he thought he might, without betraying his duties to his ally, advise the elector to remain in his capital, which would otherwise be taken from his country; whereas, if he persisted, things might still be arranged, as he had declared his wish to remain neutral.

"An accidental circumstance which occurred during this campaign, developed, in the mind of the king of Holland, the feeling of distrust which destroyed all his relations with the Emperor. General Dupont-Chaumont, the minister of France at the Hague, under the former government, had not yet been accredited to the government of the king, although he still continued to be the channel through which all diplomatic relations were carried on. He was an old soldier of reputation, and a man of remarkable talent; the king induced him to accompany him to the army, perhaps to enjoy the benefits of his military experience, and, perhaps

also, because of the interest which he felt in the recitals of the early events of our revolution, and of the wars of the republic, in which this general had taken a very active part. All the reserve of diplomacy gradually disappeared before the intimacy of military companionship; the most secret instructions of the ambassador were divulged; the king learned, that if new credentials were not delivered to him, if he was only regarded in the grand army as a French prince, if the order of the union, the guards of the Dutch marshals, and finally, the coronation itself still remained, notwithstanding his warm importunity, questions unresolved by the Emperor, it was because the affairs of Holland were not yet definitively settled in his political scheme, and that the country was reserved as a sacrifice for a peace with England. It was from this circumstance that was dated Louis's resolution secretly to resist all my wishes, my advice, and even my orders. 'I cannot,' said he, 'resist my brother by open force; but if I have been deceived by him as to the character which awaited me as king of Holland, I will prove at least to my people and to posterity, that nothing has been able to make me deviate from what I owe to a country which has become mine, and to which I am bound by the most sacred oaths and obligations.'

"General Dupont-Chaumont, who, by his indiscretion, and still more by his own impressions, had thus betrayed his duty as representative of the empire, sent a report to Paris of all that had taken place

during these conversations on the march and at head-quarters.

"He wrote that the king had resolved to act, henceforward, exclusively as king of Holland, and put a stop to the effect of those dispositions which he had adopted since his accession to the throne, with a view to the complete amalgamation of the interests of the two countries, but which he now began to foresee might eventually prove ruinous to the cause of Holland.

"Justice, however, must be done to Louis, by admitting that he rendered very important services during that war.

"Another circumstance, the Berlin decrees, became a source of bitterness in the relations between the courts of the Hague and the Tuileries. The rigorous execution of the continental system was the same as a death-blow to Dutch commerce. The Berlin decrees bore date 21st of November, 1806, and are as follow:

"'Seeing, first, that England does not recognise the law of nations, as observed by all civilized states; secondly, that she not only treats as an enemy everything which belongs to the states with which she is at war, and thus not only seizes upon ships of war, and makes prisoners of their crews, but even of the crews of merchant vessels and their supercargoes, who, in consequence of their being obliged to go to sea on matters of business, fall into her hands; thirdly, that the right of conquest is applied by her to merchant vessels and private property, whilst it ought in reality to affect

the property of the hostile state alone; fourthly, that she extends the right of blockade to fortified places and commercial cities, as well as to bays and the mouths of rivers, whilst according to the usages of civilized nations, it can be applied only to fortified places; that she declares a place in a state of blockade, even when there is no ship of war actually there, and no blockade really exists, whilst a place cannot be considered in this condition, except where it is properly invested, so that nothing can go out; and that a state of blockade cannot be established, even with the combination of all her naval forces, along the whole coasts of a country; fifthly, that it is an unheard of abuse of the right of blockade, to use it merely with a view to prevent communications among nations, and to establish the manufacturing interest of England on the ruins of those of the continental nations; sixthly, that the object of England is to oblige all who have any intercourse with her on the continent to favour her views and become her accomplices; seventhly, that such conduct on the part of England, worthy of barbarous times alone, can merely be useful to herself, and is prejudicial to all other powers; and, eighthly, that it is a natural right to oppose an enemy with the same arms which she employs, and, when she discards all liberal views, the result of the progress of knowledge and civilization, to throw them aside in opposition to her.

"'We have resolved to oppose England by the adoption of those maxims against her which she has adopted in her maritime code.

"'The principles of the present decree shall be considered as one of the fundamental laws of the empire, till England shall see fit to regard the rights of war, as the same by sea as by land; to see that they do not extend to private property, and still less to the persons of private individuals, who are not taken with arms in their hands; and that the right of blockade can only extend to places invested by a sufficient force to effect such a purpose.

"'We have decreed, and do decree as follows:

"'Art. 1. The British isles are declared to be in a state of blockade.

"'Art. 2. All commerce or intercourse with the said isles is strictly interdicted.

"'Art. 3. All letters or parcels addressed to England, or to an Englishman, or written in English, shall be detained at the post-office.

"'Art. 4. Every subject of England, of whatever rank or condition he may be, who shall be found in our states, or in those of any of our allies, shall be made a prisoner of war.

"'Art. 5. All goods or property, of whatsoever kind, belonging to English subjects, shall be considered as lawful prizes.

"'Art. 6. All commercial intercourse with England is strictly prohibited; and all the manufactures of that country, or its colonies, wheresover found, are to be regarded as lawful prizes.

"'Art. 7. The one-half of the proceeds arising

from the sale of such goods or merchandise, shall be applied to the re-imbursement of those merchants whose ships have been taken by English ships or corsairs.

"'Art. 8. No ship coming direct from England, or any of her colonies, or proceeding thither, after the publication of this decree, shall be allowed to enter any port.

"'Art. 9. Every ship which shall make use of any false papers, so as to defeat this decree, shall be seized, and her cargo confiscated and treated as English property.

"'Art. 10. Our *Conseil des Prises* (Admiralty Court), at Paris, is charged with the duty of deciding all disputes, which shall arise on the subject of these captures, which shall be made within the empire, or the countries occupied by our troops, in consequence of this decree. Our court of justice in Milan is charged with the decision of all such disputes as shall arise on this subject in our kingdom of Italy.

"'Art. 11. The present decree shall be communicated by our minister of foreign affairs to the Kings of Spain, Holland, Naples, and Turin, as well as to our allies, whose subjects, as well as ours, are the victims of English injustice on sea.'

"Undoubtedly, the last article was equivalent to an order for the execution of these articles to the Kings of Spain, Holland, and Naples, and the less doubt that could be entertained of this, the more

culpable did these kings render themselves, who, yielding to the influences of local interests, eluded the full execution of these measures, which were the results of deep political views, and intended as a means of compelling England to enter upon negotiations, which aim, from the moment of my accession to power, was the ruling idea of all my political conduct."

NOTE.

The following note will serve to finish the portrait of Sir Hudson Lowe, and to represent him in his true colours:

"General Bonaparte cannot be allowed to traverse the island freely. Had the only question been that of his safety, a mere commission of the East India Company would have been sufficient to guard him at St. Helena. He may consider himself fortunate that my government has sent a man so kind as myself to guard him, otherwise he would be put in chains, to teach him to conduct himself better."

To this note the Emperor replied:

"In this case it is obvious that, if the instructions given to Sir Hudson Lowe by Lords Bathurst and

Castlereagh do not contain an order to kill me, a verbal order must have been given; for whenever people wish mysteriously to destroy a man, the first thing they do is to cut him off from all communication with society, and surround him with the shades of mystery, till, having accustomed the world to hear nothing said of him, and to forget him, they can easily torture him, or make him disappear."

APPENDIX.

ON THE BOURBONS.

CHAPTER I.—In the sixteenth century the Pope, Spain, and the Sixteen, wished in vain to raise a fourth dynasty to the throne of France. Henry IV. succeeded Henry III. without an interregnum. He triumphed over the league, but could only maintain himself upon the throne by attaching himself to the party of the majority of the nation.

Henry IV. was proclaimed at St. Cloud on the very same day on which Henry III. died. His authority was recognised by all the protestant churches, and by a part of the catholic nobility. The holy league which had been formed against Henry III., from a hatred to protestantism, and on account of the assassination of the Duke of Guise, was then predominant in Paris, and commanded five-sixths of the kingdom. The league refused to recognise the claims of Henry IV., but it did not proclaim any other master. Its leader, the Duke of Mayenne, exercised authority under the title of Lieutenant-General of the Kingdom. Henry IV.'s accession produced no change in the forms adopted by the league for the maintenance and exercise of its power. Every city was governed by its own local or military authorities, as in the times of the

troubles and factions. At no period, not even on the day after his entrance into Paris, did Henry IV. acknowledge any of the acts of the league, nor did the latter ever put forward any pretensions—no law or no public regulation ever emanated from the league. The parliament of Paris was divided into two parties; the one which favoured the league held its sittings in Paris, and the other, which adopted the cause of Henry IV., assembled at Tours. The parliament, however, could only register laws and perform judiciary functions. The provinces preserved their organisation—their privileges remained intact, and they were governed by their ancient customs. We have said that the league never proclaimed any other master—it, however, for a moment, recognised the Cardinal de Bourbon, uncle of Henry, as king. The cardinal would not consent to second the designs of the enemies of his house. Besides, Henry was in possession of his person; no act, therefore, emanated from him, and the league continued to be governed by the authority of the Duke of Mayenne as lieutenant-general. There was, then, no interregnum between the death of Henry III. and the accession of Henry IV. The league was divided into several parties; the Sorbonne had decided that the right of birth could confer no right to the crown upon a prince, who was an enemy to the church; Rome had declared that Henry IV., being a relapsed heretic, had forfeited his rights for ever, and could not recover them, even by again entering into the bosom of the church. Henry IV., King of Navarre, was born in the reformed faith; at the time of St. Bartholomew he was constrained to marry Margaret of Valois, and to abjure the reformed religion. No sooner, however, did he find himself amongst his co-religionists south of the Loire, than he declared that his abjuration had been made under constraint, and re-entered the protestant communion. This step led to his being denominated an obdurate heretic; but the majority of the league, all whose opinions were moderate, concurred in the expediency of calling upon Henry to enter into the bosom of

the catholic, apostolic, and Roman church, and to acknowledge him as king as soon as he had abjured his errors and received absolution from the bishops.

The leaguers convoked the states-general of the kingdom at Paris; the ambassadors of Spain unmasked the designs of their master, and solicited the estates to raise a fourth dynasty to the throne of France. Henry and Condé having been declared relapsed heretics, had lost all their claims to the crown, and the male line of the Capets was therefore extinct. They then put forward the claims of the Infanta of Spain, who had been niece of Henry II., King of France, and was the nearest claimant in the female line; and should the nation be of opinion that the privilege of disposing of the crown had reverted to it, in consequence of the extinction of the male line, they still insisted that its choice should fall upon the Infanta. They alleged that it was impossible to find any one of a more illustrious house, and that France owed to itself this duty, in consideration of the efforts made by Philip II., to sustain the cause of the league. Spanish troops were in Paris, under the orders of the Duke of Mayenne; the Infanta would marry a French prince, and they even indicated the Duke of Guise, son of him who had been assassinated at Blois. An army of 50,000 Spaniards would be maintained in Paris by the court of Madrid, which was ready to lavish its treasures and to put forth all its energies to ensure the triumph of this fourth dynasty. The Sixteen would support these propositions, sanctioned by the court of Rome, and maintained by all the efforts of the legate. All these attempts, however, proved vain—the national spirit was roused, and could not bear to see a foreign nation disposing of the throne of France. That party of the parliament which held its sittings in Paris, having assembled its chambers, united in presenting a remonstrance to the Duke of Mayenne, lieutenant-general of the kingdom, urging him to watch over the fundamental laws of the monarchy, and especially the salic law. Had the efforts of the Spanish faction been

successful in prevailing upon the parliament to declare that the descendants of Hugh Capet had forfeited their claims to the throne of France, it would have raised a new dynasty to the throne; and if this dynasty had been accepted by the nation and sanctioned by Europe, the rights of the third dynasty would have been extinct.

Henry conquered the league at Arques and on the plains of Ivry, and afterwards besieged Paris. He, however, soon recognised the impossibility of reigning in France without adopting the party of the majority of the nation. He had proved victorious, with an army almost entirely French; for if he had under his orders a small body of English, the leaguers had a much more considerable force of Italians and Spaniards. The combat of the two parties was thus one of French against French; the foreigners were only auxiliaries, and whatever might have been the result of the contest, neither the national honour nor independence would have been compromised. *Ventre-Saint-Gris! Paris is well worth a mass!* was the language which Henry employed to sound the opinions of the Huguenots; and when, at the council of Beauvais, he assembled the chief of his religious friends, in order to deliberate on the course proper to be pursued, the majority, and above all the men of greatest wisdom, advised the king to abjure, and to adopt the party of the majority of the nation. Henry accordingly abjured at St. Denis, and received absolution from the bishops. Paris opened its gates to the conqueror, and his authority was recognised by the whole of the kingdom. Henry adopted the national party in good faith, and almost all the public offices were filled by leaguers. His Protestant followers, those who had always served him, and by whom he gained his victories, often urged their complaints, and taxed him with ingratitude; but notwithstanding all his circumspection, the nation long entertained feelings of distrust respecting the secret intentions of the king—and it was alleged that the "*cask would always smell of the herring.*"

CHAPTER II.—The Republic consecrated by the will of the people, by religion, victory, and all the powers of Europe.

Hugh Capet was raised to the throne by the choice of a parliament, composed of nobles and bishops—which then constituted the nation. The French monarchy never has been absolute—for the intervention of the states-general has always been regarded necessary in all the principal acts of legislation, and the ratification of all new impositions. Afterwards, the parliaments, assuming the privileges of the states-general, and seconded by the court, usurped the rights of the nation. In 1788, the parliaments were the first to acknowledge this fact. Louis XVI. convoked the states-general in 1789, and the nation resumed the exercise of a portion of its sovereignty. The constituent assembly gave the state a new constitution, which was sanctioned by the opinion of the whole of France. Louis XVI. accepted this constitution, and swore to maintain it. The legislative assembly suspended the authority of the king—and the convention, composed of deputies from all parts of the kingdom, and clothed with special powers, declared the monarchy abolished, and created the republic. All that held to the royal party quitted France, and appealed to the aid of foreign armies. Austria and Prussia signed the treaty of Pilnitz. Austrian and Prussian armies, aided by the army of the princes (l'armée des princes), commenced the war of the first coalition for reducing the French people to subjection. The whole nation flew to arms. Austria and Prussia were beaten. Afterwards Austria, England, and Russia, formed the second coalition, which was vanquished, like the first; and all the powers recognised the French republic:—

1. The republic of Genoa, by an extraordinary embassy, on the 15th of June, 1792;
2. The Porte, by the declaration of the 27th of March, 1793;

3. Tuscany, by the treaty of the 9th of February, 1795;
4. Holland, by the treaty of the 16th of May, 1795;
5. The republic of Venice, by a special embassy, on the 30th of December, 1795;
6. The King of Prussia, by the treaty of Basle, signed 5th of April, 1795;
7. The King of Spain, by the treaty of Basle, of the 22nd of July, 1795;
8. Hesse-Cassel, by the treaty of the 28th of July, 1795;
9. Switzerland, by the treaty of the 19th of August, 1795;
10. Denmark, by the declaration of the 18th of August, 1795;
11. Sweden, by the embassy of the 23rd of April, 1796;
12. Sardinia, by the treaty of Paris, of the 28th of April, 1796;
13. America, by an extraordinary embassy, of the 30th of December, 1796;
14. Naples, by the treaty of the 10th of October, 1798;
15. Parma, by the treaty of the 5th of November, 1796;
16. Wirtemberg, by the treaty of the 7th of August, 1796;
17. Baden, by the treaty of the 22nd of August, 1796;
18. Bavaria, by the treaty of the 25th of July, 1797;
19. Portugal, by the treaty of the 19th of August, 1797;
20. The Pope, by the treaty signed at Tolentino, on the 19th of February, 1797;
21. The Emperor of Germany, by the treaty of Campo-Formio, 7th of October, 1797;
22. The Emperor of Russia, by the treaty of the 8th of October, 1801;
23. Finally, England, by the treaty of Amiens, signed 27th of March, 1802.

The government of the republic sent ambassadors to, and received ambassadors from, all nations. The tri-coloured flag was acknowledged on every sea, and among all the people of the world. The Pope had treated with the republic at Tolentino, in the character of a temporal

sovereign—but he also recognised its existence, and treated with it as a legal government in his character of the Head of the Church, by the concordat signed in Paris on the 18th of April, 1802. The most of the bishops who had followed the princes into foreign countries, made their submission, and those who wished to maintain their allegiance to them, lost their sees. Thus the republic, sanctioned by the whole body of the people, victorious by its arms, and recognised by all the powers of the civilized world, was also acknowledged by all religions, and especially by the catholic, apostolic, and Roman church.

The republic was not only recognised by all the powers of the civilized world, after the death of Louis XVI., but none of these powers ever recognised a successor to this prince. The third dynasty was therefore terminated in 1800—just as the first and the second had previously been. The titles and rights of the Merovingians were extinguished by those of the Carlovingians; the titles and rights of the Carlovingians were extinguished by those of the Capetians—in the same manner as the titles and rights of the Capetians were extinguished by those of the republic. Every legitimate government extinguishes all the rights and claims of that by which it has been preceded. The republic was then a government both *de facto* and *de jure*—legalized by the will of the nation, and sanctioned by religion and the acknowledgment of the whole world.

CHAPTER III.—The Revolution made France a new nation—it freed the Gauls from the conquest of the Franks—created new interests and a new order of things, suitable to the well-being of the people—to their rights—to justice, and to the intelligence and light of the age.

The French Revolution was not produced by the collision of two families disputing for the throne, but was a general movement of the mass of the nation against the privileged

classes. The French nobility, like that of the rest of Europe, dates from the time of the incursion of the barbarians, who shared the Roman empire among themselves. In France, the nobles represented the Franks and the Burgundians—all the rest of the nation, the Gauls. The introduction of feudal government established the principle, that every territory or estate must have a lord. All the political rights were enjoyed and exercised by the nobles and priests, whilst the peasants were slaves attached to the soil. The progress of knowledge and civilization enfranchised the people. This new state of things led to the encouragement of industry and commerce; and, during the eighteenth century, the greater part of the lands, wealth, and knowledge, fell to the share of the people. The nobles, however, continued to be a privileged class—preserved the administration of justice, and possessed a great number and variety of feudal rights. They enjoyed the privilege of exemption from all the burthens of the state, and retained exclusive possession of all the most honourable employments. All these abuses excited the indignation and complaints of the people; and the principal object of the revolution was the destruction of all these privileges and the abolition of seignorial justice; for the administration of justice is an inseparable attribute of sovereign authority. It aimed at the suppression of feudal rights as a remnant of the ancient bondage of the people—at subjecting the whole body of the citizens and the whole property of the kingdom, without distinction, to an equal share of the burdens of the state. And, finally, it proclaimed the equality of all in the eye of the law. Every citizen was henceforward to be eligible to all the public offices of the state, according to his abilities and the chances of fortune. The kingdom was composed of provinces which had been united to the crown at very different periods. These provinces had no natural boundaries—were differently divided, unequal in extent and population. Each had its own peculiar customs and laws, in civil as well as in criminal affairs—their privileges were

distinct—taxation unequal, both in the amount and nature of the impositions, which made it frequently necessary to isolate them by a chain of custom-houses. In fact, France was not a state—but a union of several states in juxtaposition, without being amalgamated with one another. Everything had been determined by the events of past ages and by accident. The Revolution, guided by the principle of equality, both among the citizens of the state and all the parts of its territory, destroyed these petty nations, and formed ONE new state. Brittany, Normandy, Provence, Lorraine, &c., existed no more, and there resulted only ONE France. A new division of the country was made, without respect to former limits—to judicial or administrative organization—to differences in civil or criminal laws, or in taxation; the dream of good men of all ages was realized. The opposition offered to the progress of the Revolution by the court, clergy, and nobility, and the wars with foreign powers, led to the laws against emigration—to the sequestration of the estates of the emigrants, and to the application of their produce to the maintenance of the war. A great part of the nobility attached themselves to the cause of the princes of the house of Bourbon, and formed themselves into an army, which co-operated with the Austrian, Prussian, and English armies. Noblemen brought up in the lap of ease and luxury, served as common soldiers. Fatigue and war destroyed them in vast numbers; many perished from misery in foreign lands; whilst the war in La Vendée, that of the Chouans, and the revolutionary tribunals, mowed them down by thousands. Three-fourths of the French nobility were destroyed in this manner; and all the places in the judicial, civil, and military departments were filled by persons who sprung from the mass of the people. The confusion and change produced by the Revolution in persons and property, were as great as those which had been effected in the whole principles of government. There was even a new church—the dioceses of Vienne, Narbonne, Frejus, Sisteron, and Rheims, were replaced

by sixty new dioceses, whose limits were circumscribed by the new concordat and new bulls, in a manner suitable to the actual divisions of the kingdom. The suppression of religious orders and the sale of all the property of the clergy were sanctioned, and the ministers of religion pensioned by the state. Everything which had been the result of the long course of events since the time of Clovis, ceased to be. All these changes were so advantageous to the people, that they were carried into effect with the greatest ease; and, in 1800, there no longer remained a vestige of the ancient privileges of the provinces—of their ancient sovereigns—parliaments—jurisdictions, or dioceses. In order to ascend to the origin of the existing state of things—it was only necessary to have recourse to the new law which had established it. The half of the soil of the nation had changed hands, and the change had brought independence and wealth to the peasants and citizens. The progress of agriculture, manufactures, industry, and commerce, far exceeded all expectation; and France presented the grand spectacle of a nation of more than 30,000,000 of inhabitants governed by one law, one rule, one order. All these changes were in accordance with the well-being of the people and their rights, with justice, and the intelligence and light of the age.

CHAPTER IV.—The French people established the imperial throne in order to consolidate all the new interests. This fourth dynasty did not immediately succeed the third, but the republic. Napoleon was consecrated by the Pope, and recognised by the powers of Europe—created kings, and exercised command over the armies of all the powers of the Continent.

The five members of the directory were divided; enemies to the republic contrived to get a footing in its councils, and introduced into the government men who were enemies to the rights of the people. This form of government kept

the state in a continual fermentation, and the great interests which the French had conquered by the revolution were incessantly compromised. A unanimous voice proceeding from the remotest recesses of the country, from the heart of her cities, and from the bosom of her fields, zealous for the preservation of all the principles of the republic, demanded the establishment of an hereditary system of government, which might protect the principles and interests of the revolution from factions and the influence of foreigners. The First Consul of the Republic, by the constitution of the year eight, was elected for ten years—the nation had extended the period of his magistracy for his life—and it now raised him to the throne, which was made hereditary in his family. The principles of the sovereignty of the people, of liberty and equality, of the destruction of feudal government, of the irrevocability of the sales of the natural demesnes, and of freedom of worship, were consolidated. The government of France under this fourth dynasty was founded on the same principles as the republic; it was a constitutional and limited monarchy. There was as great a difference between the government of France under the fourth dynasty and the third, as between the latter and the republic. The fourth dynasty succeeded the republic, or rather, was merely a new modification of it.

No Prince ever ascended a throne with more legitimate rights than Napoleon. The throne was transferred to Hugh Capet by a few bishops and nobles; the throne—the imperial throne was conferred upon Napoleon by the universal wish of the people—thrice confirmed in the most solemn manner. Pope Pius VII., head of the catholic, apostolic, and Roman church—the church of the majority of the people—crossed the Alps to anoint the Emperor with his own hands, in the presence of all the bishops of France, the cardinals of the church of Rome, and deputies from all the departments of the Empire. The kings of Europe emulated each other in their haste to recognise him, and saw with pleasure a modification introduced into

the republic, which brought it into harmony with the rest of Europe, and consolidated the happiness and the state of this great nation. The ambassadors of the emperors of Austria and Russia, those of Prussia, Spain, and Portugal, of Turkey, and America, and finally of all the powers, came to compliment the Emperor. England alone sent none—having violated the treaty of Amiens, and being again at war with France—but even England approved of these changes. Lord Whitworth, in the course of the secret negotiations which were carried on through the medium of Count Malouet, and which preceded the rupture of the peace of Amiens, proposed on the part of his government to recognise Napoleon as king of France, if he would consent to cede the island of Malta. The First Consul replied, that if ever the well-being of France required him to ascend the throne, it would only be by the free voice of the French people. When Lord Lauderdale afterwards repaired to Paris, in 1806, to negotiate a peace between England and the Emperor, he exchanged his powers and negotiated with the plenipotentiary of the Emperor, as is proved by the minutes of the proceedings. The death of Fox put an end to the negotiations with Lord Lauderdale. The English minister might have hindered the campaign in Prussia, and prevented the battle of Jena. When the allies afterwards presented an ULTIMATUM at Chaumont, in 1814, Lord Castlereagh, in signing the ULTIMATUM, recognised anew the existence of the empire in the person and family of Napoleon; and if the latter failed to accept the propositions of the congress of Chatillon, it was because he did not think himself entitled to cede any portion of the empire, whose integrity he had sworn to maintain on his coronation.

The electors of Bavaria, Wirtemberg, and Saxony, were created kings by the Emperor.

The Saxon, Bavarian, Wirtemberg, Baden, and Hessian armies, fought in conjunction with the armies of France. The Russian and French armies fought together in the war of 1809 against Austria. Afterwards the Emperor of

Austria concluded an alliance with Napoleon in Paris, in 1812, and Prince Schwartzenberg, under his orders, commanded the Austrian contingent in the Russian campaign, in which he obtained the rank of field-marshal, at the request of France. A similar treaty of alliance was formed at Berlin, and the Prussian army took part in the same Russian campaign, in conjunction with the French troops.

The wounds inflicted by the revolution were cicatrized by the Emperor; all the emigrants returned, and the list of proscriptions was destroyed. This prince had the singular glory of recalling to their country, and of re-establishing in their homes, more than 20,000 families. All their unsold estates were restored—and passing a sponge over the past—men of all classes, whatever might have been their previous conduct, were equally admitted to employments of all kinds. Those families which had rendered themselves illustrious by their services and devotedness to the Bourbons, occupied places at court, in the administration and in the army—all party distinctions were forgotten—and there were no longer aristocrats or jacobins—and the establishment of the Legion of Honour, destined for the reward of civil and judicial, as well as military services, united in one body the soldier, philosopher, artist, prelate, and magistrate; this was the outward sign of the reunion of all estates and of all parties.

CHAPTER V.—The blood of the imperial dynasty was mingled with that of all the sovereign houses in Europe—those of Russia, Prussia, England, and Austria.

The imperial house of France contracted alliances with all the sovereign families of Europe. Prince Eugene Napoleon, adopted son of the emperor, married the eldest daughter of the King of Bavaria, one of the most distinguished princesses of her time, for her personal beauty and moral qualities. This alliance, contracted at Munich on the 14th of January, 1806, filled the whole people of

Bavaria with satisfaction and joy. The hereditary Prince of Baden, brother-in-law of the Emperor of Russia, solicited in marriage the Princess Stephanie, the adopted daughter of the Emperor; this marriage was celebrated, at Paris, on the 7th of April, 1806. Prince Jerome Napoleon, on the 22nd of August, 1807, married the eldest daughter of the King of Wirtemberg, cousin-german of the Emperor of Russia, of the King of England, and the King of Prussia. Other alliances of this nature were formed with sovereign princes of Germany, of the house of Hohenzollern. These marriages all proved happy, and from all of them have been born princes and princesses, who will transmit the remembrance of them to future generations.

When the interests of France and of the empire demanded the severance of those bonds which existed between the Emperor and the Empress Josephine, which were equally dear to both, the greatest sovereigns in Europe sought for an alliance with Napoleon. Had not religious difficulties, and the delays occasioned by distance, interfered, it is probable that an arch-duchess of Russia would have occupied the throne of France. This honour fell to the lot of the Archduchess Maria-Louisa of Austria, who was married to the Emperor Napoleon by procuration, given to Prince Charles, at Vienna on the 11th of March, 1810, and afterwards at Paris, on the 2nd of April following. This marriage was a subject of great rejoicing to the people both of Austria and France. The Emperor of Austria no sooner heard that there was some likelihood of the marriage of Napoleon, than he expressed his surprise that his alliance had not been thought of. Attention had been at first directed to a princess either of the house of Russia or Saxony. The Emperor Francis explained his wishes to the Count de Narbonne, Governor of Trieste, who was at that time in Vienna. Instructions on this subject had been sent by the cabinet of Vienna to Prince Schwartzenberg, then ambassador in Paris. A privy council was summoned at the Tuileries, in February, 1810, at which

the minister of foreign affairs communicated the despatches which he had received from the Duke of Vicenza, then ambassador in Petersburg. The substance was, that the Emperor was well disposed to ally his sister, the Grand Duchess Anne, with Napoleon, but appeared to attach some importance to the question of the free exercise of her religion, and a chapel where service should be performed according to the ritual of the Greek church. The despatches from Vienna made the council fully acquainted with the purposes and wishes of that court. There was a division of opinion; the advantages of the alliances with Russia, Austria, and Saxony, were duly considered, and the votes of the majority were in favour of an Archduchess of Austria. As the Prince Eugene was the first to deliver this opinion, the Emperor, on the breaking up of the council, at two o'clock in the morning, authorised him to make proposals on the subject to Prince Schwartzenberg, and at the same time authorised the minister of foreign affairs to sign the stipulations for the marriage during the course of the day. In order, moreover, to remove all difficulties respecting details, he authorised him to sign, word for word, the same contract into which Louis XVI. had entered in the case of Marie Antoinette. In the morning, Prince Eugene waited on Prince Schwartzenberg. The contract was signed during the day, and the courier which carried the news to the Emperor of Austria brought him a most agreeable surprise. The particular circumstances connected with the signature of the marriage contract led the Emperor Alexander to suppose that he had been deluded by the court of the Tuileries, which was, at the same time, engaged in two negotiations. He was, however, mistaken, for the negotiation with Vienna was begun and ended in one day. Never did the birth of any prince give rise to a greater intoxication of joy in a nation, than that of the King of Rome, or produce a greater effect in Europe. On the first report of the cannon which announced the safe delivery of the Empress, all Paris was in a state of extreme suspense.

The people stopped and listened on the promenades, in the streets, within their houses, and in public assemblies. The whole population was occupied in reckoning the number of guns, and the report of the twenty-second filled the city with universal joy. It was customary to fire twenty-one guns on the birth of a princess, and one hundred and one on that of a prince. All the powers of Europe pressed forward with their congratulations on this auspicious event. The Emperor of Russia sent his minister of the interior to compliment the Emperor; the Emperor of Austria sent Count Clary, one of the great officers of the crown. The latter brought to the young king a collar, set with diamonds, of all the orders of the Austrian monarchy. The baptism of the King of Rome was celebrated in the presence of all the bishops, and of deputies from all the countries of the empire, and with the greatest sovereign pomp. The Emperor of Austria, the god-father of the young king, was represented on the occasion by his brother, the Archduke Ferdinand, at that time Grand Duke of Würzburg, but now Grand Duke of Tuscany.

CHAPTER VI.—Which touches incidentally upon the campaign in Saxony, and proves that the League of 1813 was, in its object, foreign to the Restoration.

The victories of Lutzen and Wurchen, gained on the 2nd and 22nd of May, 1813, completely re-established the reputation of the French arms. The King of Saxony had been brought back in triumph to his capital, the enemy driven from Hamburgh, and one of the corps of the grand army was at the gate of Berlin. The Russian and Prussian armies, discouraged, had no other course to adopt but to recross the Vistula, when Austria interfered, and recommended France to agree to a suspension of arms. The Emperor returned to Dresden; the Emperor of Austria went to Vienna, and then to Bohemia; whilst the Emperor of Russia and the King of Prussia established their quarters at Schweidnitz. The conferences were opened:

Count Metternich proposed the congress of Prague; the proposal was accepted, but it was, in reality, merely a pretence. The court of Vienna had, in fact, already entered into engagements with Russia and Prussia, and would have declared herself in the month of May, had not the unexpected success of the French armies compelled her to proceed with greater prudence. Notwithstanding all her efforts, her army was not yet sufficiently numerous, badly organized—by no means in a condition to enter on a campaign. Count Metternich required the cession of the Illyrian provinces, and one-half of the kingdom of Italy—that is, Venice, and the country as far as the Mincio; besides Poland; the Emperor's renunciation of the protectorate of Germany, and of the departments of the thirty-second military division. These extravagant conditions were only proposed in order to be refused. The Duke of Vicenza repaired to the congress of Prague. The choice of Baron d'Anstetten as Russian plenipotentiary, was a clear evidence that the object of Russia was not a peace, but to give Austria time to conclude her military preparations. In fact, the evil augury which had been drawn from the selection of this negotiator, was confirmed, and he speedily proved that he wished for no conference. Austria, who pretended to act the part of a mediatrix, declared her adhesion to the coalition as soon as her army was ready, without having required the opening of a single sitting, or the record of a single minute. This system of bad faith, and of contradictions between her words and actions, was constantly followed by Austria at this period. The war recommenced. The splendid victory gained by the Emperor at Dresden, on the 27th of August, 1813, over the army commanded by the three sovereigns, was immediately followed by the disasters which Macdonald's manœuvres in Silesia brought upon his army, and the loss of Vandamme, in Bohemia. Notwithstanding, the superiority still remained on the side of the French army, which was supported by the fortresses of Torgau, Wittenberg, and Magdeburg. Denmark had

concluded a treaty of alliance, offensive and defensive, and her contingent augmented the army of Hamburg. In October, the Emperor left Dresden, and set out for Magdeburg by the left bank of the Elbe, in order to deceive the enemy. His project was to cross the Elbe at Wittenberg, and to march upon Berlin. Several corps of the army had already arrived at Wittenberg, and the enemy's bridge at Dessau had been destroyed, when a letter from the King of Wirtemberg announced the surprising and unexpected intelligence that the King of Bavaria had suddenly changed sides, without any declaration of war or preliminary warning; that the Austrian and Bavarian armies, encamped on the banks of the Inn, had united their forces, and formed only a single camp; that these 80,000 men, under the command of General Wrede, were about to advance to the Rhine; and that he himself, overwhelmed and constrained by this force, was obliged to join with his contingent. The letter stated, moreover, that the fortress of Mayence might be soon expected to be surrounded by a body of 100,000—the Bavarians having made the cause of Austria their own. This unexpected news compelled the Emperor to change the whole plan of the campaign, on which he had resolved two months before, and for which he had made all the necessary dispositions of his fortresses and magazines. His plan was, to draw the allied armies between the Elbe and the Saale, and, resting on the fortresses and magazines of Torgau, Wittenburg, Magdeburg, and Hamburg, to transfer the scene of war to the country between the Elbe and the Oder, on the banks of which river the French army was still in possession of Glogau, Custrin, and Stettin; and, further, according to circumstances, to blockade Dantzig, Thorn, and Modlin, on the Vistula. Great expectations were entertained of such success in this vast plan, that the coalition would have been completely disorganized, and all the German princes confirmed in their alliance and fidelity to France. It was hoped that Bavaria might have delayed her change of sides for a fortnight, and then it would have

been certain she would not have changed at all. The armies met on the field of Leipzig, on the 16th of October. The French proved victorious; the Austrians were beaten and driven from all their positions, and Count Meerfeld, one of their generals of division, was taken prisoner. Notwithstanding the check experienced by the Duke of Ragusa on the 16th, the victory still remained with the French on the 18th, when the whole Saxon army, with a battery of sixty guns, and occupying one of the most important positions of the line, went over to their countrymen *en masse*, and turned their guns upon the French lines. Such an unexpected and unheard of act of treachery necessarily changed the whole face of affairs, brought ruin upon the army, and gave the honour of the day to the allies. The Emperor made every possible exertion to repair the disaster—flew to the scene of treachery with one-half of his guard—repulsed and drove the Saxons and Swedes from their positions. At the close of the 18th, the enemy made a retrograde movement along the whole extent of their line, and bivouacked behind the field of battle, which remained in the hands of the French. During the night, the French army made a movement to secure themselves behind the Elster, and maintain a direct communication with Erfurt, whence they expected to receive the convoys of ammunition of which they stood in need. During the days of the 16th and 18th, the army had fired more than fifty thousand cannon shots. The treachery of the Saxons was followed by that of several of the other German corps of the confederation; and this, together with the accident of the unseasonable springing of the bridge of Leipzig, brought upon the army, although victorious, all the evil consequences of the most disastrous defeats. The French repassed the Saale by the bridge of Weissenfels, and it was intended there to rally, and wait the arrival of munitions of war from Erfurt, which was abundantly provisioned, when news was received of the Austro-Bavarian army. It had advanced by forced marches, and arrived on the banks of the Maine, and it

became necessary to march to meet it. On the 20th of October, the French army fell in with the allied forces, drawn up in order of battle, in advance of Hanau, intercepting the road to Frankfort. Although strong, and occupying an admirable position, it was overthrown, put completely to route and driven from Hanau, which was occupied by General Bertrand. General Wrede was wounded. The French army now continued its retreat behind the Rhine; and recrossed that river on the 2nd of November. Conferences were opened. Baron St. Aignon was at Frankfort, he held conferences with Counts Metternich and Nesselrode, and Lord Aberdeen, and arrived in Paris as the bearer of terms of peace, based on the following conditions:—That the Emperor should renounce the protectorate of the Rhine, Poland, and the departments of the Elbe, but that the integrity of France should be preserved within the limits of the Alps and the Rhine, Holland inclusive; and the question of boundary between France and the Austrian dominions in Italy, should be a subject of discussion and settlement. The Emperor acceded to these conditions; but the congress of Frankfort was a mere *ruse*, like that of Prague, in the expectation that France would refuse its assent. The object was, to obtain a text for a new manifesto, which might serve to rouse and stimulate the public feelings; for at the very moment in which these conciliatory propositions were made, the allied army was entering Switzerland, and violating the neutrality of its cantons. The allies, however, soon displayed their real intentions. They named Chatillon-sur-Seine, in Burgundy, as the place for holding the congress. The battles of Champ Aubert, Montmirail, and Montereau, destroyed the armies of Blucher and Wittgenstein, and no negotiations took place at Chatillon. The power of the coalition merely presented an *ultimatum*, the conditions of which were: first, the abandonment of the whole of Italy, Belgium, Holland, and the departments of the Rhine; and, secondly, that France should bind herself to remain within the boundaries occupied before 1792.

The Emperor rejected this ultimatum; forced by circumstances, he was ready to sacrifice Italy and Holland, but refused to abandon the limits of the Alps and the Rhine, Belgium, and particularly Antwerp. Treachery gave a triumph to the allies, in spite of the victories of Arcis and St. Didier. Up to this time, the allies had exhibited no pretensions whatever to interfere in the internal affairs of France. This is fully confirmed by the ultimatum of Chatillon signed by England, Austria, Russia, and Prussia. Many of the emigrants who had returned, however, no sooner saw the Austrian, Russian, and Prussian armies on the French soil, than they began to entertain new hopes and expectations of seeing their dreams realised. Some mounted the white cockade, whilst others raised the cross of St. Louis. The allied sovereigns disapproved of these measures. Even Wellington, at Bordeaux, disavowed them, although he secretly favoured all those who were desirous of raising the standard of the House of Bourbon. In all the transactions, therefore, which detached Prussia from the French alliance, and re-united her to Russia by the treaty of Kalitsch; in that which united Austria to this coalition; in all the public and secret diplomatic acts which followed, till the treaty of Chatillon; and, finally, in that treaty itself, made in France in February, 1814, the allies never thought of the case of the Bourbons.

CHAPTER VII.—The allies had not, and have not, any right over France. Louis is an outlaw. He might recover his rights by receiving the crown from the nation, and signing a constitutional agreement with the people. Thus placed at the head of a new order of things, created by the revolution, he would become the legitimate head of the fifth dynasty.

It was in Paris, that the allies first conceived the idea of rendering France a nullity for a century. By establishing a family upon the throne, to whom the French people

felt so strong an antipathy, they destroyed in their source those generous sentiments, by which the nation had been animated for thirty years; the allies, however, could transfer no rights to the Bourbons, but such as they possessed themselves. France was not a conquered country, and had she even been, such rights can only be founded upon treaties. The allied sovereigns felt the importance and necessity of a national authority, and had recourse to the senate. It was, however, impossible for the senate to deliberate freely in a city, over which the Russian flag was floating, and, besides, the senate had no right to assume the initiative in its deliberations; that was reserved for the Emperor, with the advice of the privy-council. These difficulties, however, were disregarded, and a minority of senators, among whom figured Belgians, Italians, and Dutch, at the very moment in which their respective countries were separated from France, met under the presidency of the Prince of Benevento, and assumed the functions of the whole body. This body presented the singular spectacle in history, of a French authority deliberating upon the summons of an Emperor of Russia. The senate adopted the draft of a constitution, which, by its first article, transferred the crown to Louis of Bourbon. It was resolved, that this prince, before taking possession of the throne, should swear to maintain the constitution, which was defined in the succeeding articles. This constitution, adopted by an illegal assembly, nevertheless guaranteed the new order of things established by the revolution. Its acceptance by the people would have legalized all, and, by virtue of a new contract made between his house and the French nation, Louis would then have become the head of the fifth dynasty. Kings are made for nations, and not nations for kings. Proceeding with sincerity, according to this principle, he would have become a legitimate sovereign. It was, therefore, to be expected, that he should have been called Louis I., by the grace of God, and the constitution of the kingdom, king of the French;—that he would have

sworn to maintain the constitution, by virtue of which he was raised to the throne, and by which all the interests of the nation were consolidated; that he would have removed from his presence and court all those who had made war upon France; that his almoner would have been one of the bishops or archbishops of the empire, by virtue of the concordat of 1801; that the great officers of his court and household would have been chosen from amongst the men who for twenty-five years had enjoyed the confidence of the nation; that the captains of his guards would have been marshals of the empire, and the guard itself composed of veterans selected from the ranks of the army; and that, having no other guarantees to give to the French people, who for twenty-five years had only looked upon him and the princes of his house as enemies, he would have studied to recover their confidence and affection by the spirit and opinion of the persons by whom he chose to surround himself, whether as officers of the crown, agents or members of the ministry or the council of state, or members of the chamber of peers. It was foreseen, that, by pursuing this course, Louis would consolidate, conquer, and obtain the confidence and love of the nation—and cast the fourth dynasty into oblivion. This course of action would not have been new; he had before him the example of Henry IV., who, although the conqueror of his subjects, was desirous of giving them a guarantee of his dispositions, and of inspiring them with confidence, and, therefore, surrounded himself with the party of the league, and kept at a distance all those by whose means he had proved victorious on the fields of Courtrai, Arques, and Ivry. This prince knew that the affections and hearts of men lay beyond the province of force, and that a king of France, who did not reign in the love of his people, was nothing. And yet Henry IV. succeeded to the throne without an interregnum; he had neither the rights of an acknowledged republic nor those of a fourth dynasty to extinguish, nor had he to efface the stain which had been fixed upon the national honour

by the presence of foreigners. Finally, the principle of conduct which would have made the reign of the Bourbons legitimate is to be found in the words dictated to the Count d'Artois; *nothing is* CHANGED *in France, except that it contains one Frenchman more.*

CHAPTER VIII.—Louis pretends to have reigned since 1794; he therefore disavows the treaty of Fontainebleau; and the republic and the fourth dynasty are consequently illegal governments. Consequences of this principle in reference to the emigrants, the old clergy, and ancient privileges.

Louis, when arrived in Paris, entitled himself, in the first act of his government, "Louis XVIII., by the grace of God, King of France and Navarre;" and dated the act in the nineteenth year of his reign. If this pretension were well founded, he must have already reigned eighteen years, and been the legitimate continuator of the third dynasty. If he were king by the grace of God alone, he could not have been a constitutional monarch; and, finally, if he were King of France and Navarre, he was a feudal prince. The appellation King of France, or King of the French, would have been indifferent, had not the constituent assembly by changing the former for the latter, determined the sense in which these titles were to be understood—the one denoting a feudal and the other a constitutional king. Louis entered upon the exercise of unlimited power without any guarantees for the rights and interests of the nation, and disavowed the constitution adopted by the senate. These operations were wholly without danger, as long as they were supported by 500,000 English, Russian and German bayonets. It has been said that Henry IV., on his entrance into Paris, also dated his acts in the tenth year of his reign, but Henry IV., as has been already stated, had reigned without interruption. Louis disavowed the national colours, and regarded, as the legal army, that which had always carried the white colours, those of La Vendée

and Condé. That army which had performed such prodigies of valour, and conquered the world under the national colours, was obliged to lower its ensigns, and to hoist the standard over which it had been continually victorious. This was to allege that the army had fought in a bad cause—that it was a rebellious body—and had need of indulgence and pardon. All the acts of Louis were the results and consequences of this criminal pretension. He appointed as his almoner, the archbishop of Rheims, a refractory prelate, who called himself chief of a diocese which had been suppressed by the concordat. He placed the Prince of Condé at the head of his household, and made the Prince of Lambech master of the horse, because they had filled these offices under the third dynasty. He named the Dukes of Richelieu, Duras, Fleury, and Aumont, first gentlemen of the bedchamber, because they had been so under the third dynasty, and possessed rights of reversion. The Dukes of Avré, Grammont, Luxembourg, and the Prince of Poix, were appointed captains of the guards, for the same reason. He re-established the noble body-guards, the one hundred Swiss, grey and black musqueteers, gendarmes, light cavalry, and channel guards—in short, everything which experience had taught all other countries in Europe to suppress and abolish. All the members of the old body-guards were anxiously sought out, as well as all those who had formed a part of the household of Louis XVI., and who had been dispersed and conquered on the 6th of October and the 10th of August; men, most of whom were now aged and decrepit, and for four-and-twenty years without military habits or exercise. Many of them to escape from misery had been vegetating for twenty-five years in subordinate places in the administrations, hospitals, and commissariat. The Bourbons, as if unable in their own persons to present sufficient objects of repugnance to the nation, surrounded themselves with everything most foreign to its manners, physiognomy, and rights. In this way, Louis was proclaimed as the legitimate successor and continuator of the third dynasty. The

old bishops returning from England were allowed to reclaim their sees, which had been suppressed by the concordat of the 2nd April, 1801; the clergy were authorised to demand the restoration of their estates—first of all, those which were still in the hands of the public commissioners, (of which there were many millions of acres of forests, or buildings, employed for the public service,) and those which had been alienated by the authority of usurpers (nearly a fourth of the kingdom). Ecclesiastical jurisdictions were re-established, and the clergy exempted from taxation; the catholic church was henceforward to be dominant in the state, according to the principle of the third dynasty. The ancient seigneurs and other privileged persons were encouraged to prefer their complaints against the spoliating laws of the republic, and to require the restitution of their seignorial administration, feudal rights and property, which they had lost in consequence of their emigration. They and all their estates were to be exempted from any share in the public burthens, and to resume their titles and honours, which they held from their ancestors by right of birth. Because a king of the third dynasty had recovered the throne, all the services rendered against the nation were to be recognised and rewarded. In fact, crowds continued to rush in from all ends and corners of France, claiming the reward of their services against France—for having delivered up Toulon and its arsenal to the English—for having designed to do the same by Brest and its squadron—for having served against the nation during the first or second coalition—for all the crimes committed in the Vendean and Chouan wars—for the massacre of generals and soldiers—for the plunder of *diligences* and public chests—for having taxed the acquirers of national property—and for the infernal machine of the 3rd of Nivose. All their complaints were well founded, on the supposition that the republic and the fourth dynasty were usurping and illegal governments, and that the legitimate sovereign was then in the midst of the armies of the enemies of France. It was found impos-

sible to satisfy all their complaints. The old clergy, the emigrants, the privileged classes, and the Vendeans, were all dissatisfied, and complained that the Bourbons never thought of them or their interests. In order to appease them, the princes told them to hope, and to wait for better times, which would, no doubt come, and realise their expectations. The nation comprehended and shuddered before these fallacious hopes! On their part, the privileged nobles replied, that in the course of twenty-five years, they had lived fifty years, in consequence of the miseries, imprisonments, and sufferings, which they had endured in the cause of their princes, and that they were no longer in a condition to wait.

CHAPTER IX.—Consequences of this principle in reference to the new clergy—to the new nobility and purchasers of national property—to the *employés* of the various civil and judicial administrations—to the army and the whole people.

Louis having thus destroyed the national title which the allies themselves had thought it necessary to obtain, was proclaimed as Louis XVIII., by the grace of God, King of France and Navarre; and having dated his accession as if in the nineteenth year of his reign, it follows, that the republic and the fourth dynasty were illegitimate governments, and that all that was done under them was illegal. Thus all the orders, and rules for the administration of public affairs, the laws which were passed, and the civil and criminal regulations which were adopted, became null and void. Notwithstanding this, the King, in all his acts, recognised and acted on the laws of the republic and the fourth dynasty. All the civil, correctional, and criminal judgments which are passed,—all settlements of disputes,—all questions of finance and of administration, continue to be arranged and disposed of according to the practice which has prevailed since the Revolution. Men are condemned to death for having favoured the cause of

the imperial dynasty, by applying to their cases the laws which were passed by the republic and the Emperor against the Bourbons. By following this principle, there is not a single general who has conferred so much glory on the country, in the battle-fields of Jemappes, Rivoli, Marengo, Hohenlinden, Ulm, Austerlitz, Jena, and Friedland, who might not be condemned to death by the application of the same laws. The clergy who were faithful to the concordat of 1801, became disquieted at the sight of the refractory bishops, who alone enjoyed the confidence of the court. The committee of ecclesiastical affairs was presided over by a refractory prelate, who knew what he had reason to fear, and what he must expect from the vengeance of the princes whose cause he abandoned in 1801. Hereditary titles were established by the Emperor, in order to transmit to posterity the recollection of services important to the state, whether they were civil, military, or ministerial. He conceived it to be just and agreeable to the public interests, that the remembrance of great services should be transmitted from father to son, in the same manner as the civil code permitted the transmission of estates; and that he thereby created a means of reward more noble in itself, and better calculated to excite generous sentiments, than any pecuniary recompence, whilst at the same time he spared the public money. Moreover, this was one method of bringing France into a state of harmony with all the rest of Europe, and of giving rank and dignity to the new families which had sprung from the mass of the people. The arms bestowed on these men were the emblems of public liberty; this new nobility, which must necessarily feel some disquietude at the very call to the throne of a prince of the house of Bourbon, could never rally round a feudal king. The purchasers of national property, to the number of several millions, were filled with apprehension for their properties, because the persons around the throne had a direct interest in annulling their acquisitions, because bigotry and fanaticism resumed their interest at court,

and led them to reclaim the property of the clergy. Different decisions of the royal council gave a colouring to these alarms. Those who had filled places in the magistracy, or other civil employments under the fourth dynasty, were offended at hearing themselves designated as the agents of a usurping and illegitimate government. The army saw with indignation the names of those who had served in the wars of La Vendée, of the Chouans, and in the army of Condé, placed at the head of the list of French generals. The army itself was merely preserved, because it was feared; but by degrees it will be robbed of all its privileges, and of the fruits of twenty years of victories. It is true, the charter guarantees the equality of the citizens, the liberty of the press, the irrevocability of the sales of national property, the suppression of feudal rights, and the legion of honour; but this guarantee is merely nominal, inasmuch as the Chamber of Peers is a majority composed of individuals having interests diametrically opposed to these principles, and almost all of whom have made war upon the nation, and lost their privileges and their estates; and the Chamber of Deputies, previous to being elected after the manner which the king shall determine, furnishes no guarantee to the nation for the defence of its rights. These considerations are of such importance as entirely to annul the benefits of the charter, since it gives no bond to the people but merely the form of election.

The Bourbons were desirous of substituting a feudal for a constitutional oath, and wished for no oaths of fidelity to the constitution or the charter; and, in consequence, the taking of the oath was suspended, in order to wait for a favourable circumstance. Neither the army nor the magistrates took any oath; the cross of the legion of honour was lavishly bestowed, and became the decoration of all the enemies of the country. The pecuniary liberalities granted to the legion, and the houses for the education of their orphans, were suppressed. The king preserved the orders of the Holy Ghost and of St. Lazarus, which require proofs of several centuries of nobility; and

the former was declared to be the first order of the state. The statutes of the legion of honour were violated, in order to be lavish of the GRAND CORDON, at the time when no nominations were made in that of the Holy Ghost. They awaited the time when affairs should be better consolidated, and when they would be obliged to have recourse to less management, in order to be able to follow out the statutes of the order, and to admit knights who could prove their centuries of nobility. The king, whose principal characteristic is dissimulation, never wore the ribbon of the legion of honour. The army every day saw the soldiers of La Vendée and the emigration boasting with enthusiasm, and the newspapers were filled with articles intended and calculated to tarnish its glories. That alone was sufficient to render it irreconcileable to the Bourbons, and daily to increase the repugnance which it felt towards the principles raised to the throne by 500,000 foreign bayonets. How could the army ever become attached to princes, who were enemies of its glory, and strangers to all its great and memorable days? The whole people felt themselves threatened with a return of the days of feudal privileges, and saw that they would no longer be called upon to share the honours, but to support the burthens of the state, having passed under the yoke of their masters. Their children will be soldiers, but never become officers; the paths of civil honours, of the magistracy, and of military renown, all effectually and for ever closed to them; these sentiments are so much the more painful, as there is not a village which has not given birth to a general, a colonel, or a captain—to a prefet, or a judge, or an administrator—each of whom has been raised by his own merits, and done honour to himself and his country. It was this which ensured that sincere attachment to the fourth dynasty, in consequence of which it may be truly said, that if Louis of Bourbon is the King of the nobles, Napoleon was the King of the people.

CHAPTER X.—Louis wishes to ascend the throne of the third dynasty—he sits upon a mass of ashes—he is isolated, a stranger to the nation, without rights and without power.

The title of King of France only conferred on the third dynasty the rights of *suzerains*, and that of Navarre merely the dominion over a small province. They reigned over the people in virtue of particular titles—viz., as dukes in Brittany, Normandy, Burgundy, Provence, &c.; and in order, therefore, to re-establish the rights of the third dynasty, it would have been necessary to re-establish also the provinces, together with their rights and privileges. The Britons, Normans, Burgundians, &c., never recognised the duty of obeying their sovereigns till the latter had sworn to maintain their respective constitutions, rights, laws, and privileges. The kings of the third dynasty were the heads of a feudal system; and the minor feudatories were possessed of rights and privileges as sacred and legal as those of the superior lords. It was necessary, therefore, to re-establish the whole of this system, and to restore all these privileges. The Bourbons were the heads of the nobility, whose jurisdictions and rights they were bound to maintain. These things, however, could not be done, except to the great detriment of the nation, and injury to the best interests of the people, and without provoking a bloody and terrible reaction. In order to effect this retrograde movement in civilization, and again to plunge a whole nation into the depths of ignorance and superstition, nothing less could have been requisite than the permanent presence of a powerful foreign army. The throne of the third dynasty is already reduced to ashes, it exists no more, and the pretension of occupying it is absurdity and madness; it is merely plunging into the midst of a thick fog, in order to fall over a precipice. If the Bourbons wish to reign by hereditary right, and to require the obedience of the people, they must first re-establish the rights

of the nation, the states-general, parliaments and constitutions of Brittany, Burgundy, and the other provinces. Nothing of this kind, however, has been done; they have given a constitution intended to replace and compensate for all these ancient institutions, which in this case is merely an emanation of the simple royal authority, and an act of reformation destroyed at its pleasure. There was a nation in France, however, before there were kings; and the assemblies of the Champ de Mars, the Champ de Mai, and the states-general were superior, more ancient, or at least equal in power to royalty itself. In order to suppress all the ancient laws and constitutions of the state, and to replace them by new ones, it was certainly at least necessary to enter into a new contract with the nation. The kings of France have never reigned except upon conditions and with a limited authority, at least in law. If the Bourbons have seized upon the throne by right of birth, have not all the feudatories in the kingdom the same right to seize upon their fiefs?

If Louis reigns as the head of the fifth dynasty in consequence of a new and free contract with the nation, he ought not to be called King of France and Navarre, but King of the French; he ought not to date from the nineteenth, but from the first year of his reign; he ought not to have given a charter as an act of grace, but have negotiated a treaty with the people. As long as the mode of election is not fixed, constitutional and immutable, the charter is nothing, and confers no guarantee. It would be right to suppress the orders of the Holy Ghost and St. Lazarus, because they require proofs of nobility to enjoy the honour of admission.

The system by which France is actually ruled is one of *pride, arbitrary contradiction, and falsehood*, and has served to raise up a new barrier between the Bourbons and the people. Louis reigns by the grace of God, and therefore does not condescend to recognise any contracts, either ancient or modern—neither the privileges of the kingdom nor those of the provinces. All are gone, and nothing

remains but himself. In order to replace the great national bodies, he confers a charter, which emanates from himself alone—such is his *pride*. The system is no less false than contradictory. He has suppressed feudality, and yet declares himself king by a feudal right. He proclaims the equality of the citizens before the law, the irrevocability of the sale of national property, and the free exercise of religion, and yet he summons around his person, and admits into the offices about his court, none but persons whose interest and existence are bound up with the re-establishment of privileges, the recall of those sales, and with religious intolerance. He has promised to the army the preservation of its rights, and he orders it to raise and carry the white banner; he neither grants his confidence nor opens his heart to any but Chouan officers, emigrants, or Vendeans. He professes to be proud of the national glory, and acknowledges at the same time that he owes his throne to the Prince-Regent of England, and enters into the most shameful and dishonouring relations.

The crown of the third dynasty is dissolved—evaporated; it can no longer confer either right or power. Louis did not wish to be, and he is not, the head of the fifth dynasty, but the mere agent of the powers who are the enemies of France.

He has marched from London to the Tuileries over a bridge of foreign bayonets dripping with French blood; he enjoys no independence, but is the mere instrument by which the enemies of France chastise and humiliate his country. Foreign armies, however, have left France, and Louis, by the grace of God, King of France and Navarre, is in the nineteenth year of his reign, and calls himself master of a people, in the midst of whom he stands isolated, and who see in his person nothing but the enemy of its rights, the author of its misfortunes, the instrument of its dishonour, and of the loss of its glory. He is guarded by, and in the power of, an army which is completely the army of the nation. Foreign armies quit France, and Louis has

yet come to no understanding with his people, not even in the nature of the oath which he ought to require!!!

The mummy of one of the descendants of Sesostris, which had lain for ages in the interior chamber of the great pyramid, was clothed with all the trappings of royalty, and placed upon the throne of its ancestors; when the priests of Memphis wished to present it to the homage of the Egyptians, it crumbled into dust, and was no longer in a condition to bear either the breath of the atmosphere or the warmth of the sun.

END OF VOL. I.

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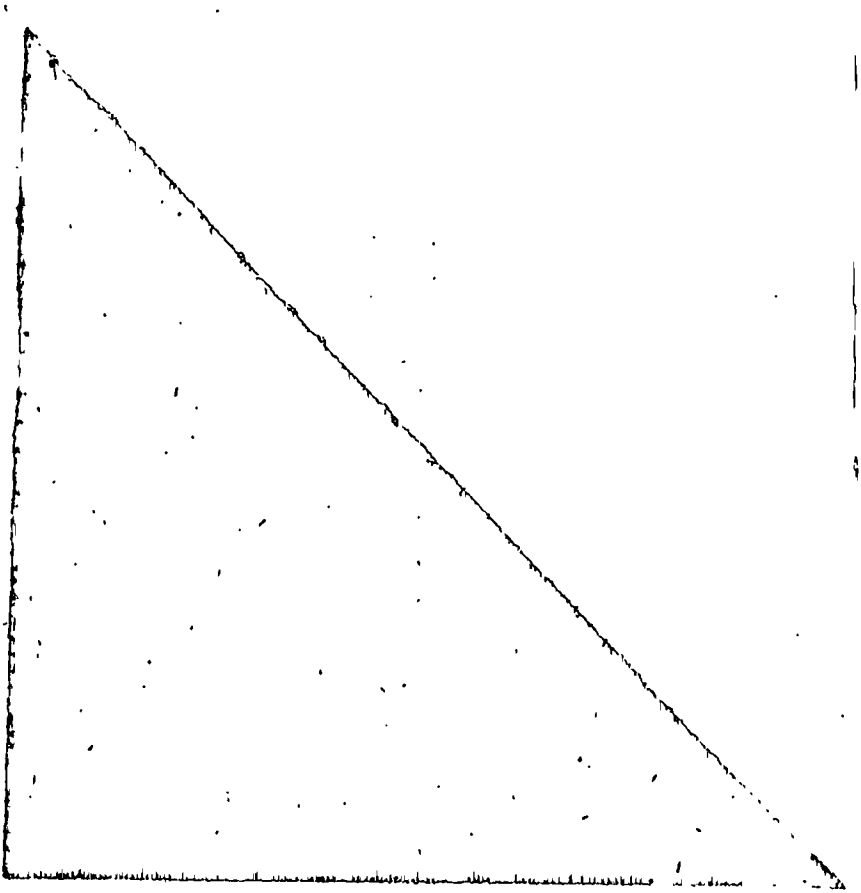

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